THE DISCOVERY OF MYSTERIES:

OR,

The plots and practices of a prevalent faction in this present PARLIAMENT.

To overthrow the eſtabliſhed Religion, and the well ſetled Government of this glorious Church, and to introduce a new framed Diſcipline (not yet agreed upon by themſelves what it ſhall be) to ſet up a new invented Religion, patched together of Anabaptiſticall and Browniſticall Tenents, and many other new and old errors.

And alſo,

To ſubvert the fundamentall Lawes of this famous Kingdome, by deveſting our King of His juſt rights, and unqueſtionable Royall prerogatives, and depriving the Subjects of the propriety of their goods, and the Liberty of their perſons; and under the name of the Priviledge of Parliament, to exchange that excellent Monarchicall government of this Nation, into the Tyrannicall Government of a faction prevailing over the major part of their well-meaning brethren, to Vote and Order things full of all injuſtice, oppreſſion and cruelty, as may appeare out of many, by theſe few ſubſequent collections of their proceedings.

By GR. WILLIAMS *L. Biſhop of* Oſſory.

July. 1642 exon

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MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT *MAJESTIE.*

Most Gracious Soveraigne,

THough the wiſeſt man in all the Kingdome of *Perſia* ſaith, *great is the truth and ſtronger then all things;* yet the father of lies hath now plaid his part ſo well, that as the Prophet ſaith, *truth is fallen in the ſtreete, and equity cannot enter in*; and your Majeſtie, whom the God of *truth* hath anointed his *ſole* vicegerent, to be the

ſupreame protector of them both, in all your dominions, hath accordingly lifted up your ſtandard againſt their enemies; and I may truly ſay of you as *Menevenſis* ſaith of that moſt *noble* King *Alfred*.

Si modò victor erat ad craſtina bella pavebat.
Si modò victus erat, ad craſtina bella parabat.

Neither doe I beleive, that *Lucans* verſe can be applied to any man better then to your Majeſtie:

—— Non te vidère ſuperbum
Proſpera fatorum, nec fractum adverſa videbunt.

As the height of your glory and proſperity never ſwelled your *pious* heart, ſo your *greateſt* croſſes and adverſities never dejected your *royall* ſpirit; But as the Prophet ſaith of the *Captaine* of the hoaſt of the Lord, ſo I ſay to you that are his *Lieutenant, ride on with your*

honour

honour, or ride prosperously, *because of the word of truth, of meekenesse, and righteousnesse*, the people shal be subdued unto you; and *because the King putteth his trust in the Lord, and in the mercy of the most highest he shall not miscarry*; especially, while he fighteth, as he doth, the *battaile of the Lord*, in defence of the *Church* of Christ, who hath promised to be his *shield and buckler*; which is the daily faithfull prayer of

Your Majesties most loyally

devoted Subject, and most

faithfully obliged servant

GR. OSSORY.

TO

To the Nobility, Gentry, and Commonalty of ENGLAND.

Moſt deare Chriſtian Brethren, and fellow Subjects,

I Call God for a record upon my ſoule, that I have proceeded in this *Diſcovery of Myſteries*, to diſcharge my *duty*, as my conſcience directeth me; and *if I periſh I periſh*, the Lord hath hitherto moſt *mercifully* preſerved mee: I have read of an *ingratefull* begger that when a *pious* man ſeeing his nakedneſſe, and having a *full* web of cloth, did *freely* give him as much as was requiſite to make him a *faire* garment, yet he was no wayes *ſatisfied* therewith, but would have *violently* ſnatched all the web, in deſpite of the right owners teeth; and ſhall we that have ſo *freely* received ſo many acts of grace from our King, more then ever any other King hath granted, exact ſo much more, as to make him *no King*, or a King of *no power?* like *Henry* the 3. in the Parliament at *Oxford*, where *the good King met ſo many undutifull demands, that he was forced to render up to their rebellious will his royall power*, and when others managed the State, he was left a cypher; alas who hath bewitched us? when men do rent the *regall* juſtice,

In the life of *Henry* 3. preſented to King *James* pag. 29. Choron. Sancti Albani.

ſtice, they make themſelves of ſo many Subjects, whilſt they live in duty, *totidem tyrannos*, when they have left their loyalty: and *promiſes* made by men, which can not ſay they are at liberty are *weake*; when *force* hath no power to make a *juſt* intereſt; Therefore let not a faction prevaile to deſtroy us all; I aſſure my ſelfe *moſt* of our two Houſes of Parliament are very *noble* and very *pious*, and *many* of them would willingly yeild to His Majeſties perſwaſions for accõmodation; but our Saviour ſaith, *a little leaven leaveneth the whole lumpe*, and a *ſmall* faction may inſenſibly ſeduce, if it were poſſible, the *very elect*: I will appeale to your owne *conſciences*, if we have not a moſt *religious* and a moſt *gratious* King? if he hath not *aboundantly* granted his favours to all this Kingdome? & if the faction doth not *ſtill* demand what he may *lawfully*, and ought juſtly to deny? then I beſeech you let me not become your enemy for ſpeaking *truth*; let not the *kingdome* be made more miſerable, and the *Church* more deſpicable, by your aſſiſting of *ſuch* a faction to the *new* moulding of them; and let it not be thought *ſtrange*, that we beleeve *one* ſeditious ſchiſmatique in a Parliament may prove a treacherous *rebell* againſt his

King,

King, and this Traytor may poſſibly ſeduce *many*, & thoſe many not unlikely to prevaile to infect the *major* part of *both* Houſes: and if ſo, * then the firſt plotters of ſo *great* a miſcheife, having ſo far tranſcended the *limits* of truth and juſtice, to wound their conſciences, and to confound the State, that they know not how to *retire*, and thinke they can not finde *grace*, is it any wonder that *ſuch* men with *Iudas* run on, from bad to worſe, from worſe to worſt of all, till at laſt they come to the *higheſt* ſtep that hell can teach them? But we being Gods *olive*, *though ſome of the Branches be broken off*; yet I hope God hath not caſt away his people; and therefore if you take not *pleaſure* in wickedneſſe, and *love* not to become more miſerable, let us *all feare God*, *honour the King*, forſake the rebels, and defend the Church; ſo the God of all mercy will yet be mercifull unto us, that we ſhall finde grace both with God and our King; which is the hearty prayer of

* Shall we deeme them a Parliament, and thinke it fitter, to have them Judged by themſelves then by the knowne lawes of the land?

Rom. 11. 17.

Your moſt affectionate Chriſtian
brother, that doth moſt hear-
tily wiſh your happineſſe,

GR. OSSORY.

Chriſtian Reader,

AS this Treatiſe was ready for the Preſſe, I lighted upon *Os oſſorianum*, wherein I ſaw neither learning, nor truth, nor modeſty, nor honeſty, nor any one thing worth reply, but a moſt diſtempered rage, and moody choler that tranſported the ſilly man beyond his ſence; for omitting thoſe his rareſt paſſages, which ſome diſcreete welwiller of the man collected in *Os oſſis & oris.* if you looke in pag. 59. you ſhall finde his double admiration, that I ſhould not be either recompenced with vengeance revealed from heaven, or be made an example of the deepeſt ſeverity of the juſtice of the land (whereby I preſume he means this Parliament) or otherwiſe to be diſmembred and torne in peeces by the impatient rage and indignation of the people. for which direfull imprecation I wiſh the poore ſnake nothing elſe, but that our good God would be ſo merciſull unto him, as to reſtore him to his wits, which I underſtand he ſcattered about the ſtreets of *Amſterdam*, and give him grace to repent for thoſe intolerable treaſons and abuſes which he diſperſed in his Pamphlets againſt his own Sacred Soveraigne. And for his bone, wherein I finde neither fleſh nor marrow, I ſhall throw it to his owne dogs to fight about it; and will ever reſt

Thine affectionate loving Brother,

A GR. OSSORY.

PSAL. 89. 49.

REmember Lord the rebuke that thy ſervants have, and how we do beare in our boſomes the reproach of the mighty; wherewith thine enemies have reproached thee, and ſlandered the foot-ſteps of thine Anointed. Ariſe therefore O Lord, maintaine thine owne cauſe; have mercy upon us, and deliver us, becauſe we have put our truſt in thee; and forgive thoſe poore ſeduced ſheepe which know not what they doe.

The

The Contents of the ſeverall Chapters contained in this TREATISE.

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BRITISH MUSEUM

THE

THE Diſcoverie of Myſteries: OR, The Plots and practices of a prevailing Faction in this preſent *Parliament*, to overthrow both Church and State.

CHAP. I.

Sheweth the introduction; the greatneſſe of this Rebellion; the originall thereof; the ſecret plots of our Browniſticall faction; and the two chiefeſt things that they aymed at to effect their Plot.

I Have long wandered in a *region* of Rebellion, among *ſeduced* Subjects, and *diſcontented* Peeres; and now at laſt, after I had paſſed the raging Seas, and very hardly eſcaped the ſtormes and dangers of the ſurging waves, I am arrived in my *native* ſoyle: where I finde my ſelfe incompaſſed with farre *greater* ſtormes and more violent windes then ever I thought could be on any Land; for though that *Grand Rebellion*, which you may finde *lately* deſcribed, was both *magna & mira*, very great and very grievous, ſuch as

I ſuppoſed could not be exceeded by any humane malice; yet now (me-thinkes) I heare the Spirit ſaying unto mee as hee did unto *Ezekiell*, *Sonne of man ſtand up, and I will ſhew thee greater abominations*; and a rebellion farre *greater* and more odious then either *Popiſh*, *Iriſh*, or any other *Sect* or *Nation* of the world hath hitherto produced; and therefore I may now ſay with the Poet,

Barbara Pyramidum ſileat miracula Memphis.

Let proud *Babylon* ceaſe to boaſt
Of her Pyramid's ſtately ſpires;
This Rebellion is more ſtange,
Surmounting all infernall fires:
No age the like hath ever bred,
Nor ſhall when theſe Rebels be dead.

The ſeed and originall of this rebellion.

The *ſeed* of it was unſeaſonably ſowne in the *Northerne* ſtorme, and the *originall* of thoſe *Boreall* blaſts (either *why* or by *whom* thoſe ſpirits were raiſed) is not ſo well knowne to me; therefore how *juſtly* the King did undertake the quarrell, I will not at this time determine; or with what equity the *Scots* made their approach into *England*, it is not my purpoſe to diſcuſſe: yet I muſt needs ſay, that our *Engliſh* Sectaries, and *Amſterdam* Recuſants, which hated our *Church* and loved not our King, *juſtum, quia juſtum*, onely becauſe he is ſo good, too good for them, did from hence *arripere anſam*, take hold of this opportunity, by procuring thoſe to *proceed* that were comming on, and diſcouraging the others of the Kings ſide, that were *cowardly* enough (to ſay no worſe) of themſelves, to betray both King and Kingdome into the hands of the Invaders. So the good King was now with King *David* brought into a *ſtrait*, either to take counſell and follow the advice of thoſe *ſecret* Sectaries, and the masked enemies both of the Church and State, that as yet inſenſible unto him, were ſuch, in the boſome of his Court, and moſt ſlily aymed at a further miſchiefe then his Majeſtie could have imagined, as now it appeareth by the conſequences of this Parliament; or elſe to hazard the dangers that his then open foes were like to bring upon his people: And I aſſure my ſelfe, *eyes of fleſh*, that cannot pierce into the

So now I feare more the ſecret enemies both of Church and State, that may lurke in Court, then thoſe that lie in the Earle of *Eſſex* his Campe.

the myſteries of the hearts and our ſecret thoughts, could ſee no *further*, nor make any *better* election then His Majeſtie did; that is, to call a *Parliament*, which the hearts of all the Kingdome called and cryed for; and which, in former times, by the *wiſe* inſtitution and *right* proſecution thereof, was found to be the *Panchreſton*, or, as the Weapon-ſalve, an antidote to cure all the diſeaſes, and to heale all the bleeding wounds of this Kingdome, (though of late we have *ſenſibly* felt the *unhappy* ending of ſome of them, which perhaps may be ſome accidentall cauſe of ſome part of this unhappineſſe:) here was His Majeſties *faire* minde, and an act of *ſpeciall* grace; for which all His Subjects ought moſt *thankefully* to ſhew themſelves *loyall* unto Him, when He preferred their *ſafety* before the *proſecuting* of his owne reſolutions.

But, *Decipimur ſpecie recti*, we are many times deceived by the ſhadow of truth, and betrayed under the vizard of virtue; for, as *God produceth light out of darkeneſſe*, and good out of evill; ſo wicked men, like the ſpiders, doe ſucke poyſon from thoſe flowers, whence the Bees doe extract honey; and theſe *ſubtle-headed* foxes (whereof many of them had *unduly* got themſelves elected into the Houſe of *Commons*, and there *factiouſly* combined themſelves together to doe their *great* exploit, to overthrow the Government both of *Church* and *State*, and minded to make the *Parliament-Houſe* like *Vulcans* Forge, where they intended to contrive their *iron* net that ſhould be able to hold faſt all *ſorts* of people, from him that ſitteth upon the *Throne*, to him that walloweth in *duſt* and aſhes) turned the *hopes* of our redreſſes to our extreame *miſeries*, when in ſtead of *rectifying* our abuſes, they intended principally to worke our *ruine* in our juſt apprehenſion, though perhaps our happineſſe in their owne miſtaken conception.

And, as the Apoſtle ſaith, *Knowne unto God are all his workes from the beginning*, and he hath eternally decreed *how* and by what *meanes* to bring them all unto perfection; ſo the *Devill*, beings Gods Ape, and the *wicked* treading in his ſteps, doe firſt *mold* their deſignes and intentions in the *Idea* of their owne braines, and *conclude* the workes they would have done in their

owne conceipts, and then they frame to themſelves the *meanes* and wayes, whereby they are reſolved to produce and *perfect* all thoſe miſ-ſhapen *embryoes* that they conceived; and ſo theſe factious men, this brood of vipers, that would gnaw through the bowels of their mother, from the firſt *convention* of this Parliament had reſolved upon their plot, and contrived among themſelves what great *good* worke they would by ſuch and ſuch meanes bring to paſſe.

The deſigne & plot of the faction of Sectaries.

And that was (as I hope this ſubſequent diſcourſe will make it *plaine* to all, that will not be *wilfully* blinde) *the ſubverſion of the ancient government both of this Church and Kingdome*; and to introduce a new *Eccleſiaſticall* Diſcipline, and to frame a *new Common wealth*, much like, if not worſe then that of our neighbours in the *Low-Countries*.

Gratum opus agricolis; a *brave* exploit, and a *great* worke indeed, beyond the adventure of *Junius Brutus*, that expelled the *Kings*, but left the *Prieſts* alone; that purged the *corruption* of the *royall* government, but medled not with the *religion* of their Biſhops and Prophets: and beyond the undertaking of *Martin Luther*, that pulled downe the pride of the *Pope*, and all that *Romiſh* Hierarchie, but ventured not to trample upon the *Scepter* of Kings, and the Imperiall government, which he held *ſacred* and inviolably to be obeyed; for theſe men perceiving how God had ſo *wiſely* ordered theſe governments among his people, to *aſſiſt* each other, that the one can neither *ſtand* nor *fall* without the other, (as it is *fully* and *truly* ſhewed in the *Grand Rebellion*;) therefore as *Caligula* wiſhed that the people of *Rome* had but one necke, that ſo he might diſpatch them all, *uno ictu*, with one ſtroke; ſo theſe men would overthrow *both* governments, and deſtroy both *King* and *Prieſt*, both Church and State at one time, with one clap, with one thunder-bolt: And ſo they ſhould be *famous* indeed, though it were but like the fame of *Heroſtratus*, that burnt the Temple of *Diana*, or of *Raviliac*, that killed the King of *France*; of *Nero* that deſtroyed his mother, or *Oedipus* that murdered his owne father; for a man may be as notoriouſly *famous* for tranſcendent *villanies*, and nefarious *impieties*, as another is for his rare

rare *vertues* and ſupereminent deeds of *piety*; as in Hiſtory *Therſites* is as well knowne for his baſe cowardice, as *Achilles* for his heroicke valour; and in the Scripture, *Judas* for his *treachery* is as notoriouſly knowne, as Saint *Peter* for his *fidelity*; therefore theſe men goe on with this *great* deſigne: and to effect the ſame, I finde that they aymed at theſe two ſpeciall things.

They aymed at two things.

1. To take away all the *lets* and impediments that might hinder them.
2. To ſecure unto themſelves all the *helpes* and furtherances that might advantage them. For,

1. To remove the impediments of their deſigne.

1. As a *Vineyard* that is well hedged, or a *Citie* ſtrongly fenced with walls and bulwarkes, cannot eaſily be laid waſt and ſpoyled, before theſe *defences* be deſtroyed; ſo the wilde boares cannot devoure the *grapes* of Gods Church, and ſwallow downe the *revenues* of her governours: and the Rebels cannot pull the *Sword* out of their Soveraignes hand, and lay his *Crowne* downe in the duſt, ſo long as the *meanes* of their preſervations are intire and not removed; therefore theſe men endeavour to eradicate all the *impediments* of their deſigne: and they ſaw foure great blockes, that were as foure mighty mountaines, which their *great* faith (their *publique* faith being not yet conceived) muſt remove, before they could plant their *new* Church, and ſubvert the *old* government of this Kingdome: and thoſe were,

Foure impediments of their deſigne.

1. The Earle of *Straffords* head.
2. The *free* judgement of the *Judges*.
3. The *power* of diſſolving the Parliament.
4. The Biſhops *votes* in the Houſe of the Lords.

For, as the *heavenly* Angels could doe nothing againſt *Sodome*, while righteous *Lot* was in it; ſo theſe *earthly* Angels the meſſengers of *Abaddon* can never effect their ends, to overthrow the Church and State, to make them as *Sodome*, full of all impurity and villany, untill theſe foure maine ſtops be taken away: and therefore,

CHAP. II.

Sheweth the eager prosecution of our Sectaries to take off the Earle of Straffords *head: how he answered for himselfe: the Bishops right of voting in his cause: his excellent vertues, and his death.*

1. Impediment. 1. THey get Master *Pym*, the *grand father* of all the purer sort, and a fit instrument for this designe, in the name of the House of *Commons*, and thereby of all the Commonalty of *England*, to charge *Thomas* Earle of *Strafford* of *High-Treason*; a high charge indeed, and yet no *lesse* a crime could serve the turne to turne him out of their way; becaus nothing elsse could *subdue* that spirit, by which he was so well able to *discover* the plots, and to *frustrate* the practices of all the faction of Sectaries; for as the *Jewes* were *no wayes* sufficient to answer Saint *Stevens* arguments, but onely with stones, so these men saw themselves *unable* to confute his *reasons*, and to subdue his *power*, but onely by putting him to death, and cutting off his head, for that fault which *Pym* alleadged he had committed.

The Earle his charge.

But then, I demand how this *great* charge of high Treason shall be made good against him?

How sought to be proved.

It is answered, that *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland* and every corner of these three Kingdomes must be searched, and all *discontented* persons, that had at any time any sentence, though never so *justly* pronounced against them, by him that was so *great* a Judge, Yet *conceited* to be otherwise by themselves, must now be *incouraged* and countenanced by the faction, and most *likely* by this *grand* accuser, to say all that they know, and perhaps more then was *true* against him. for what will not *envy* and *malice* say? or what beast will not trample upon the *Lion*, when they see him groveling and gasping for *life* in an unevitable pit, and it may be, compassed with so many mastife dogs (I meane his enemies and discontented witnesses) as were able to teare more then one *Lion* all to peices? so by this meanes they are enabled

abled to frame neare thirty Articles againſt him *ut cum non proſint ſingula, multa juvent*, that the number might *amaze* the people, and thinke him a *ſtrange* creature, that was ſo *full* of haynous offences, and ſo compaſſed with tranſgreſſions.

But, *ſi ſatis accuſaſſe, quis innocens?* if acculations were ſufficient to create offenders, not a righteous man could eſcape on earth; therefore *the Law condemneth no man before he be heard*, what he can anſwer for himſelfe, and the Earle of *Strafford* comming to his anſwer made all things ſo cleare, in the Judgment of the *common* hearers, and anſwered to every article ſo *well*, that his *enemies* being Judges, they much applauded his *abilities* and admired at his *Dexterity*, whereby he had ſo *finely* untied thoſe *Gordian* knots, that were ſo *fouly* contrived againſt him, and as his *friends* conceived, had *fairely* eſcaped all thoſe *iron* nets, which his adverſaries had ſo *cunningly* laid, & my popular countreyman, with the reſt of the more learned Lawyers, had ſo *vehemently* proſecuted to inſnare him in the linkes and traps of guiltineſſe; and in breife the Lords, who as yet were *unpoyſoned* by the leavened ſubtilty of this bitter faction, could finde not any *one* of all thoſe articles to be Treaſon, by any *Law* that was yet eſtabliſhed in this Land, *ſic te ſervavit Apollo*; ſo God delivered him, as he *thought* and his friends *hoped*, out of all theſe troubles. The Earle his anſwer.

Yet, as a rivelet ſtopped will at laſt prove the *more* violent, *vires q; acquirit ibidem*, and recollect a *greater* ſtrength in the ſame place; ſo rage and malice, *hindered* of their revengefull deſires, will turne to be the *more* implacable; *quia malitia eorum excæcavit eos*, becauſe the malice of men bewitcheth them, and hath no *end* till it makes an end of its hated foe; therefore thoſe men, that *hated* and maligned the Earle (like the *Jewes*, that becauſe their *tongues* could make no reply to the juſt defence of the holy Martyr, *gnaſhed upon him with their teeth and ſtopping their eares ran upon him with one accord*, all at once) becauſe they had no *Law*, nor learning, to make thoſe articles treaſon, they ſay with the Poet, *hac non ſucceſſit, aliâ aggrediemur viâ*; ſeeing we *failed* herein, we will attempt *another* way: and to that end, they frame a *Bill* of attainder againſt him; and this, if it paſſe by the The nature of malice. Act. 7. 51.

the *major* part of both Houses, and have the *royall* assent, will bring him to his iust deserved death; and herein, I will not say, they shewed themselves *worse* then the *Iewes*, because that, when their malice was at the *highest* pitch against Christ, they said, *we have a Law, and by our Law he ought to dy*, and these *haters* of the Earle, seeing they had *no* Law, will have a Law, to be *made*, that shall bring him unto his death; because the *House* might have reasons, which my *sence* cannot conceive.

Yet some of his *friends* have said, that after a *former* prosecution according to Law, to make a *new* Law, where there was *none* before, to take away a mans life, is almost as bad as the *Romançe* Law, that I read of, *to hang him first and then judge him afterward*, to whom I assented not: and not many lesse then 60 *worthy* Members of the House of Commons would never yeild to passe that Bill; & it had a *greater* rub among the Lords, where it is not thought upon any *slight* conjectures, it had never passed but that *this* rub must be taken away by a *new* device; for that the *faction* judging some of them might be more *timorous* then *malicious*, and remembring, that *primus in orbe Deos fecit timor*, feare is a *powerfull passion* that produceth many *strange* effects, the Apprentices and Porters, Water-men and Car-men and all the ratcall rout of the ragged Regiment were gathered together by some *Chedorlaomer*, & came as they did against Christ, *with swords and staves*, without order, with great impudency, to *awe* them, and to cry for *Iustice* against him; and this was done, and done againe, and againe, untill the businesse, that they came for, was done; a course, not prevented, that may undoe all Justice, and bring us all to be undone.

The rubs of the Bill how taken away.

And yet all this will not do this deed, untill the King passeth His *assent*; for as yet the new Law of *orders* and *ordinances* without the King was not hatched; and the good King, having so *graciously*, *so indefatigably* taken such care and such paines, in his owne person every day, to heare and see all that could be *laid* unto his charge, and how he had *answered* each particular, was so *just* and of such tender and religious conscience, that he was not satisfied (as men conceived) with the *weight* of those reasons that were produced, to *passe* the same; therefore here I finde another

The Kings great paines to search out the truth.

nother *Stratageme* uſed, ſuch as *Hannibal* could not invent, to effect this *hard* taſke; what? to perſwade *mildneſſe* to become *ſe-vere*, or to cauſe a *juſt* and moſt clement Prince, ſo *full* of mercy, ſo *prone* to pardon where there is a fault, and ſo *loth* to puniſh, but where he muſt (by the Law of Juſtice.) the *greateſt* fault, to yeeld to put him to *death*, that was in many things ſo *excellent* in his life? the *taſke* was, to procure his *aſſent* to paſſe this Bill; and how ſhall this be done? as the *Man of God* could not be perſwaded by any man, but by a *Man of God*, a Prophet by a Prophet, ſo now the Biſhops that were *good* men, men of conſcience, and *ſet apart* by God to reſolve and ſatisfie weake and tender conſciences, are thought fit to be ſent unto this *good* King, to perſwade him, (as men ſuppoſed) that, to prevent a *greater* miſchiefe, he might *juſtly* paſſe this Bill; and either 6. or 4. of the *prime* Prelates are requeſted by the Lords, to goe unto the King, to *aſſay* how far they can *prevaile* with him herein; and ſo they went; and how they dealt with His Majeſtie, I do not *fully* underſtand, but am informed by ſome that went, that they aſſured him he ought to *ſatisfie* himſelfe in point of *Law* by his Judges, and of *State* by his Councell; & how they did any otherwiſe, in any other thing rectify his Conſcience, in point of *diviſitie*, which belonged unto themſelves, I cannot tell.

But, though I thinke no man can *juſtly lay the* leaſt tittle of blame upon the *juſt* King, no, not the Earle *himſelfe*, as himſelfe profeſſed, for yeelding to *ſuch*, and ſo *earneſt* perſwaſions of I know not how many *reverend* Biſhops, *wiſe* Counſellours, *grave* Judges, and the *flower* of all his people, to paſſe that Bill whatſoever it was.

Yet to ſay what I *conceive*, with their favour, of my brethren the *Biſhops*, in the proſecution of this cauſe; I am *perſwaded* that they had *no reaſon* to withdraw themſelves from the Houſe, and to deſert their owne right, when the *Bill* or the *Judgment* was to paſſe againſt the Earle, upon this *ſlight* pretence, alleaged againſt them, by the *haters* of the Earle and no *lovers* of the Biſhops, *that a Clergie-man ought not to have any vote, or to be preſent, at the handling of the cauſe of bloud or death*; for they might know full well, when my Lords grace of *Yorke* did moſt

The Biſhops right to vote in any cauſe.

clearely manifeſt this truth: that the *firſt* inhibition of the Clergy, to be preſent and aſſiſtant in *cauſa ſanguinis* or *judicio mortis*, in the Canon of *Innocent* the third (as I remember, for I am driven to fly without my bookes) was moſt *unjuſt*, onely to tie the Biſhops to his *blinde* obedience, to the *apparent* prejudice of all Chriſtian Princes, by denying this their ſervice unto them; and it is no wayes *obligatory* to binde us, that are by the Lawes of our Land not onely *freed*, but alſo *injoyned* to abandon all the *unjuſt* Canons, that are repugnant to our Lawes, and derogatory to our Kings, and to renounce all the *uſurped* authority of the Pope; for I would faine know what *Scripture* or what *reaſon* Pope *Innocent* can alleadge to exclude them from doing that good ſervice both to God and their King, which in all *reaſon* they can or ſhould be better able to do, then moſt others; and I am ſure that neither in the *old* nor in the *new* Teſtament, nor yet in the *Primitive* Church, untill theſe *ſubtle* Popes began thus to incroach upon the *rights* of Princes, to take away the *prerogatives* of Kings, and to *domineer* over the conſciences of men, this excluſion of them from the *higheſt* act of Juſtice was never found; for, did not *Moſes*, *Joſhua*, *Samuel*, *Eliah*, *Elizæus*, *Jehoida*, and others of the Prieſts and Prophets of the *Old* Teſtament, and S. *Peter* alſo the Prince of the Apoſtles in the *New* Teſtament, judge in the caſe of bloud, and pronounced the ſentence of death againſt Malefactors? as when *Ananias* and *Sapphira* were ſuddenly brought unto their *end* by the judgement of the Apoſtle; and if they be able and fit to judge of *any* thing, then why not of this?

The Prophets and Apoſtles judged in the caſe of life and death.

Ob. If you ſay, becauſe they are the advocates of *mercy*, the procurers of *pardon*, the preachers of *repentance*, and men that are made to *ſave* life, and not to put any one to death, or to bring any man unto his end.

Sol. I anſwer, that they are therefore the *fitteſt* men to be the Judges both of life and death: for who can *better* and more *juſtly* judge me to death, then he that doth *moſt* love my life? it is certaine he will not condemne me without *juſt* cauſe; even as God, that is πάτηρ οἰκτιρμῶν, the father of mercies, and even *mercy* it ſelfe, is the *fitteſt* and moſt righteous Judge that can

can be found both of death and damnation; because his *mercy* and goodnesse towards his creatures will not permit his *severity* against sinne, though never so *detestable* to his purity, to doe the least *injustice* to their persons; so our love of *mercy* and pitty will not suffer us to doe any thing that shall transcend the rules of *justice* and equity; and as our inclination to *mercy* prohibits us to condemne the innocent, so our love to *justice*, and our charge to preserve it, will not permit us to justifie the wicked; for the Scripture teacheth us, that *he which justifieth the wicked, and he that condemneth the innocent*, that calleth the *evill* good, and the *good* evill, that spareth *Agag*, and killeth *Naboth*, *are both alike abominable unto the Lord.* Clergy, how fit to be Judges.

And therefore notwithstanding this unjust *Canon*, I never finde in any of our Histories, that the Bishops did ever *withdraw* themselves and quit their *votes* in this case, either before or after, save onely from the 10th yeare of *Richard* the 2d, unto the 21th yeare of the raigne of the same unfortunate King; which they did, not because they could not *justly* be present, but because they had *just* reasons to be absent, as you may finde it in the Annales of his time: therefore I know not how to palliate their *facility* of yeilding way to those *Non-Canonicall* Lords, to produce those *non-obliging* Canons, which they abhorred in all that made not for the *furtherance* of their designe, to exclude them from doing *this*, which was one of their chiefest duties; for who knoweth not the Lord *Say* and Lord *Brooke*, and others of the Lords, to hate *all* Canons, even the old Canons of the Apostles, as *inconsistent* with their new rules of independent government? and yet herein, to exclude the Bishops *votes* in the judgement of this man, and the passing of this Bill, which being admitted, might perhaps have turned the scales, they will take hold of the *unjustest* Law, and alleadge one of the *worst* of Canons, a Canon against *reason*, and most repugnant to the *best* of Gods Properties, which though they be all *equall* in themselves, *summè & perfectissimè*, yet are they not so perceived by us, but *his mercy is over all his workes.* Non Canonicall Lords.

But you will say, was this man so *just*, that he was *unjustly* condemned to death, did all men so *untruly* complaine against him,

him, and was he *good*, notwithstanding all the *evill* that was proved against him?

I answer, that I dare not, and I doe not say that he was unjustly adjudged to death, or that the Bill it selfe was *unjust*; but this I assure my selfe, that he was a very *wise* and understanding man, and indued with many *rare* heroicke vertues, and most *excellent* graces, as among the rest with those two *incomparable* indowments, that cannot *easily* be found among *many* of the Nobles of this world.

The Earle's vertues.

1. *Faithfulnesse* to his Prince, to whom (as I conceive) he shewed himselfe a *true* servant, and most *trusty* in his greatest imployments, save in what was (and I know not that) *justly* proved against him; and I *believe* he would never have taken *Armes*, as some others of the Lords doe now, against his Soveraigne.

2. Love unto the *Church* and Church men; to whom, though others thinke it their glory to *oppresse* them, and a vertue to *contemne* them; yet he was a *true* friend, a most *noble* benefactor, and most *just* unto his death, as his very last speech unto his *dearest* Sonne doth sufficiently testifie unto all posterity; which speech was to this effect, (and I would to God it were *indelebly* imprinted in the memory of all our Nobility) that, as he regarded his *fathers* blessing, or expected a *blessing* from God upon what his father left him, so he would be carefull never to *take away*, or in any wise to *diminish* any part or parcell of the goods or patrimony of the Church; which if he did, *would prove a canker to waste and consume all that he had.*

Yet it may be, he was (which in truth I cannot imagine) as the Philosopher saith of *Marcus Antonius*, a man of that composition, that his *vices* did equalize, if not exceed his *vertues*, and his offences *cloud* all his graces, and obscure all his glory; and as the *saving* of one mans life cannot save him from *suffering*, that doth unjustly put another man to death, so the *rarest* vertues cannot *justifie* the man that committeth so *many* horrible offences, as his accusers conceived this man did; to which it may be well replyed, that a *notorious* malefactor (though I apply not this to him) may be *unjustly* condemned;

How a malefactor may be unjustly condemned.

and

and ſo he may be *juſtly* condemned, and *unjuſtly* executed; as when he is not condemned for the *fault* committed, or condemned not according to the *Law* which condemneth that fact; for though a *murderer* deſerveth death, yet *any* one may not preſently be the death of that *murderer*, nor the *Judge* condemne him for *robbery*; and though I ſhould commit *many* offences worthy of death, yet if the *Law* doth not condemne me, I ought not to die for *any* of them; for as the Apoſtle ſaith, *Where there is no law there is no ſinne, becauſe ſinne is the tranſgreſſion of the law*: therefore the Earle of *Strafford* might be an *evill* man, and doe *many* things that in the ſight of God and good men were *worthy* of death; yet if our *Law* made not thoſe crimes *capitall*, or if the *Law* made them *capitall*, and not *treaſon*, we ought not for *treaſon* to adjudge him unto death: ſo in ſumme the reſult is this, that he might *juſtly* deſerve death, and yet be very *unjuſtly* condemned to death. And it *ſeemed* to ſome of his friends that ſo he was, eſpecially becauſe they had no plaine *unqueſtionable* Law, but were faine in ſome kind, to *make* a Law, to take off his head; and when his head was off, this *new* manner of proceeding ſhould end, and be no Law for *any* other that came after; and a *Declaration* muſt be made, that the *courſe* proſecuted for his puniſhment, ſhall not afterwards be drawne into an *example*, it muſt be produced for no *patterne*, but for him *alone* and none other; leſt perhaps if the ſame courſe ſhould be *ſtill* practiced, the *contrivers* of this plot might have the *like* payment to fall ere long upon their owne heads; therefore ſome ſay, this may well draw a *ſuſpicion* upon the juſtice of the ſentence, though I will not cenſure any man for any injuſtice therein. Complaint to the Houſe of Commons p.6.

But as the Earle ſaid at his death, which he undertooke like a *good* Chriſtian, full of *charity* and no leſſe *piety*, it was an ill *omen* to this Nation, that they ſhould write the *frontiſpiece* of this Parliament with *letters of bloud*; which, if *unjuſtly* done, or *unduly* proſecuted, I feare may with *Abels* bloud cry for *vengeance* in the eares of God againſt the *contrivers* of this miſchiefe, to produce our miſeries: and the God of Heaven doth *onely* know how *much* of the bloud of this Kingdome The Earle's words at his death.

must be squeezed out, to expiate all the *mis-proceedings* and the fearefull *projects* of our people: God Almighty turne his *anger* from us, and let not the *righteous* perish with the *wicked*, nor the sinnes of some *few* be laid upon us all.

This was the first *impediment* that was to be *removed*, before they could *proceed* any further in this Tragedy, and thus it was most *artificially* acted; and I say he was a *great* and a very great impediment of their designe, which made me the *larger* in the prosecution thereof; because he was a person of that great *ability*, and so great *fidelity* both to the Church and State, and the taking off of his head, made a very *wide* gap for our enemies to enter into the vineyard of Christ, and a large breach into the Citie of God, to deface the *Church*, and to destroy this Kingdome.

CHAP. III.

Sheweth, how they stopped the free judgement of the Judges; procured the perpetuity of the Parliament; the consequences thereof, and the subtle device of Semiramis.

The second impediment of their designe.

2. THe *next* let that might hinder their designe, was, the *great* learning, *long* experience, and *free* judgement of the grave Judges, to declare what is *truth*, and what is *law* in every point; for these men being *skilfull* in the Lawes and Statutes of our Land, knew how *contrary* to the same, and how *repugnant* to the fundamentall Constitutions of our government, the erecting of a *new Church*, and the framing of a *new Common wealth* would be; and their *judgement* being to be inquired in any emergent doubt, might prove very *prejudiciall* unto their plots, and a *hinderance* of their designe, except it were diverted by some course.

How they stopped the free judgement of the Judges.

Therefore to *stop* this streame, to put a *gagge* in their mouthes, to *imprison* all truths that might make against them, and to make these Judges *yeild* to whatsoever they doe, or at least

leaſt not to *contradict* any thing they ſay, they get *many* of them to be accuſed of High-Treaſon; and they doe but *accuſe* them, and not *proceed* to any tryall againſt them, which was a *pretty* plot of their policie; becauſe that hereby they kept *them*, and the *reſt* of their fellow Judges (that had any *finger* in the miſſentenceing of the Ship-money, and were therefore in the ſame *predicament*, and to be under the ſame *cenſure*) under the laſh, and to be ſtill *ſilent*, for very *feare* of their proceeding againſt them: for they ſaw by many preſidents, that thoſe men which *favoured* their deſigne, or *contradicted* not their wayes, were *winked* at by this Faction, though they were the *greateſt* Delinquents; and therefore *redimere ſe captos*, to free themſelves out of the hands of theſe men, they might conceive it their *ſafeſt* courſe to gain-ſay none of their concluſions; which was a *plot* of no ſmall value to *further* their deſigne, by this removall of this *ſecond* impediment.

3. The *third* let that ſtood in their way to make ſtop of their impious deſigne, was the *royall* power to *diſſolve* the preſent Parliament, as formerly to diſſolve any other, which they knew to be an *inſeperable* flower of the Crowne; *timor undique noſtris*, this brought them in feare on every ſide, leſt, if they were *too ſoone* diſcovered, they might *ſuddainly* be prevented, and their plot might prove abortive, *like the untimely fruit of a woman, that periſheth before it ſeeth the Sun*, or as the apples of *Sodome*, vaniſhing when they are touched, into nothing; or, at the beſt, but to *ſtinking* blaſts: therefore to eſcape this *rocke*, they ſaile about, and like cunning water-men, they looke *towards* you when they row *from* you; their *eyes* and mouthes are one way, when their *hearts* and mindes are another way; for they tell the King, that the *diſcontinuance* of Parliaments hath produced *aboundance* of diſtempers in this State, and a *world* of grievances both in the Church and Common-wealth: beſides they ſay, what the King and every man elſe ſaw to be true, that the *Scots* were entred into our *Land*, and ſetled in the *boſome* of this Kingdome; and though perhaps if ſome things had beene *better* looked into, we mought at firſt moſt *eaſily* have kept them out; yet now, *durius ejicitur, quàm non admittitur*

The third impediment of their deſigne,

The faire pretences for the continuance of the Parliament.

tur hoſtis, it was *too* late to ſhut the doore, and it is not ſo *eaſie* to expell and drive them out, except we made them a bridge of *gold* to paſſe over the river, and ſo to goe homewards againe.

And this cannot be done without a great deale of money; which moneys though the *Parliament* ſhould grant them, (as we are moſt willing to doe, to free your Majeſtie from theſe *gueſts*, and to prevent the *dangers* of an inteſtine warre) yet they cannot *ſuddenly* be levyed and collected, as the *times* and occaſions now required; therefore it muſt be *borrowed* to ſupply our *preſent* neceſſities, and *lenders* we ſhall finde none, except we can ſhew them a *way* how they ſhall be repaid againe; and the *experience* we have lately had in theſe *latter* yeares, of ſo many *Parliaments* ſo *unhappily* ſuddenly diſſolved, puts us out of all hope to finde *any* way to ſecure their debts, except your Majeſtie will paſſe an *Act*, (for as yet they durſt not ſay they needed not His aſſent to what they did) that *this* Parliament ſhall not be *diſſolved*, untill it be agreed upon by the conſent of both Houſes.

How the King was leduced by their pretences.

This and the like were their *faire* pretences, like the *Syrens* voices, very *ſweet*, and very good; and the *good* King that ever *ſpake* as he thought, could not thinke that His *great* Councell, whom He *truſted* with all the affaires of His Kingdome, meant any *otherwiſe* then they ſaid, or looked any *further* then they ſhewed Him; Hee never dream'd that they intended to have an *everlaſting* Parliament, and ſo perfidiouſly to over-reach both the King and the Kingdome.

But though our *gracious* King (being not ſo much verſed with the diſſembling *ſubtilty* and ſerpentine windings of wicked hypocrites, that are to be removed from the King, and expelled out of His houſe) ſuppoſed all them to meane *ſyncerely*, and to deale *fairely* as they ſeemed to doe; yet I doe admire that the *wiſedome* of the Kings Councell, (but that they, which as the Apoſtle ſaith, *are not ignorant of the devices of Satan*, are not permitted by theſe men to be of His Councell) could not eſpie what miſchiefe might *lurke* under this faire ſhade, or what might be the *conſequences* of ſuch a Parliament, that

that is *inconſiſtent* with a Monarchy, and therefore muſt in a convenient time be ended, or elſe will make an end of all Monarchicall government. why then might not a *yeare* or two, or three, or more, ſo the yeares were *limited*, ſuffice to determine all buſineſſes, but that the life of this Parliament ſhould be *endleſſe*, and the continuance thereof *undetermined?* this is beyond the age of the Councell of *Trent*, that they ſay laſted above 40 yeares; for I preſume, if ſome of the contrivers of this deſigne might have their *deſires*, the youngeſt of us ſhould hardly ſee the *Diſſolution* of this Parliament, *till the earthly Houſes of our Tabernacles be diſſolved*; for it is *likely* they could be well contented, as one ſaith, to make an *Ordinance* that both Houſes ſhould be a *Corporation*, to take our lands and goods to *themſelves* and their ſucceſſours, and when *any* of that Corporation dieth, *toties quoties*, the ſurviver and none elſe ſhould chooſe a ſucceſſour to perpetuity; ſo they ſhould be *Maſters* of our eſtates and diſpoſers of all we have; (as they are now) for ever. and therefore this was a *plot* beyond the powder plot, and beyond the device of *Semiramis*, that with a *lovely face*, deſired her huſband, ſhe might rule but 3 dayes, to ſee how well ſhe could *mannage* the State, and obtaining her requeſt, in the firſt thereof, ſhe *removed* all the Kings officers, in the ſecond ſhe *placed* her owne minions in all the places of power and authority, (as now the *faction* would doe, ſuch as they confide in, in all places of ſtrength) and in the third day ſhe *cut* off the Kings head, and aſſumed the government of all the Kings Dominions into her owne hands; for not 3 *dayes*, nor 3 *yeares* will ſerve their turne, for feare they ſhall not have *ability* in ſo *ſhort* a ſpace to finiſh all their *ſtrange* intended projects; and therefore, that they might not be *hindered*, their requeſt is *unlimited*, that the Parliament ſhould not be *diſſolved*, till both Houſes gave conſent, which they were contented ſhould be *ad Græcas Calendas*.

What the faction could be contented with. Complaint p. 19.

The plot of *Semiramis*.

Yet God that knew beſt, what *puniſhments* were due to be inflicted for their *former* actions, and for all the *ſubtle* devices of their hard hearts, gave way for this alſo, that this *third Impediment* of their projects might be removed; that ſo at laſt, their

 ſinnes,

sinnes, like the sinnes of the *Amorites* by little and little growing unto the *full*, might undergo the *fulnesse* of Gods vengeance which as yet, I feare was not *fully* come to passe; for till the Parliament was made *perpetuall*, the things that they have done since, were absolutely *unimaginable*; because that while it was a *dissoluble* body, they durst not so *palpably* invade the *knowne* rights, either of King or Subjects; whereas now, their body being made *indissoluble*, they need not have the *same* apprehension of either, having strengthened themselves by a *Bill* against the one, and by an *Army* against the other; and therefore all the *dissolutions* of Parliaments from the beginning of them to this time, have not done halfe that mischeife, as the *continuance* of this one hath done hitherto, and God onely knowes what is to *succeed* hereafter.

How the faction hath strengthened it selfe.

But seeing themselves have *publiquely* acknowledged in their Declarations, that they were too blame, if they undertooke *any* thing *now*, which they would not undertake, if it were in His Majesties power to dissolve them the *next* day, and they have since used this meanes, which was given them to *disburthen* the Common-wealth, of that debt, which was thought *insupportable*, to plunge it *irrevocably* into a farre greater debt, to the *ruine* of the whole Kingdome, to *change* the whole frame of our government, and subjecting us to so *unlimited* an arbitrary power, that no man knowes at the *sitting* of the House, what he shall be worth at the *riseing*, or whether he shall have his *liberty* the next day, or imprisonment; many *wise* men doe say, they see no reason that this trust being *forfeited*, and the faith reposed in them *betrayed*, the King may not *immediately* re-assume that power of dissolving them, into his owne hands againe, and both our *unjustly* abused King and our *much* injured people, declare this act to be void, when as *contrary* to their owne faith and the trust of the King, they *abuse* it to overthrow the *fundamentall* Lawes of this Kingdome; though *I could heartily* wish, that because it still carrieth the *countenance* of a Law, the faction would be so *wise* as to yeeld it to be *presently* dissolved by a Law.

What many wise men do say.

CHAP. IV.

CHAP. IV.

Sheweth the abilities of the Bishops; the threefold practice of the faction to exclude them out of the House of Peeres; and all the Clergy out of all civill Judicature.

4. THere was *one* stop more that might hinder, or at least *hardly* suffer their plots to succeed according to their hearts desire; and that is, the *Bishops* votes in the *upper* House, nay they cannot endure to call it so, but in the House of the *Lords*; for they *rightly* considered therein these 2 speciall things. { 1. their *number*, } which are 2. *maine* things to stop { 2. their *abilities*. } and hinder many evils: For, The fourth impediment of their designe.

1. They had 26. voices, which was a very *considerable* number, and might stop a *great* gap, and stay the streame, or at least *moderate* the violence of any unjust prosecution.

2. They were men of *great* learning, men of *profound* knowledge both in divine and humane affaires, and men *well* educated *a cunabulis*, that spent all their time in *books*, and were *conversant* with the *dead*, that *feared* not to speake the truth, and have *wearied* themselves in reading Histories, comparing *Lawes*, and considering the *affaires* of all Common-wealthes; and so were *able* if their modesty did not silence them, to discourse *de quolibet ente*, to untie every *knot* and to explaine every *riddle*; and being the *immediate* servants of the living God, *set apart* as the Apostle speaketh, to offer *Sacrifice* and to administer the *Sacraments* of God, to *prepare* a people for the Kingdome of heaven, it ought not, and it cannot be otherwise *imagined*, by any child of the Church, that is a true beleever, but that they are men of *conscience*, to speake the *truth* and to doe *justice* in any cause, and betwixt any parties more then most others, especially those *young* Lords and Gentlemen, whose yeares do want *experience*, and the course of their lives, some in *hawking* and hunting, and others in *dicing* and bowling, and visiting blacke-friers play-house, or perhaps in worser exercises, doth sufficiently shew how *weake* their judgement must needs be in *great* affaires, and how The abilities of the Bishops.

Pardon mee good Lords for so plainly speaking truth.

how imperfect their conscience is as yet in holy things, I hope not to be *preferred* before these grave and reverend men.

And therefore lest these *grave* men should prove *great* hinderances of their *unjust* proceedings, before any of their *worst* intentions be *well* perceived; there must be an exclusion of them from *Parliament*, and from those *Lords*, whose consciences and knowledge they may then the *better* captivate, and bring them the sooner to *side* with them, for to effect their *great* designe. And it is a *world* of wonders to see, with what *subtlety* and industry, with what *policy* and villanie this one worke must be effected. It would fill a volume to collect the *particulars* of their Devices; I will reduce them to these 3 heads.

1. They used all meanes to render them *odious* in the eyes of all people.

A threefold practice against the Bishops.

2. They brought the *basest* and the refuse of all men, watermen, porters, and the *worst* of all the apprentices, with threats and menaces, to thunder forth the *death* and destruction of these men.

3. Upon a *pretended* treason they caused 12 of them, besides the Arch-Bishop that was in the Tower before, to be clapt up at *once* into prison; where they kept them in that *strong* house, untill they got it enacted that they should be excluded from the *upper* House, and both they and their *Clergy* should be debarred from the administration of any *secular* act of Justice in the common-wealth.

1. They endeavoured to make them *odious* unto the people 2 wayes.

2 To make the odious two wayes.

1 Way.

1. In making that Order (or giving that notice unto the people) that *any* man might exhibit his complaint against *scandalous* Ministers, and he should be heard; which invitation of all *discontented* sheepe to throw dirt in their Pastors faces, was too *palpably* malicious; for our Saviour told us, *we should be sent as sheepe into the mids of wolves*, but here is a *sending* for the wolves to destroy the Shepheards; and it came to passe hereby, that no lesse then 900 complaints and petitions were brought in a very short space, (as I was informed by some of their owne House, that *feelingly* misliked these undue proceedings) against many

Learned

Learned and most faithfull servants of *Jesus* Christ, that were *therefore* hated, because they were not wicked; and *persecuted* because they were conformable to the Lawes of the King and the Church. And the *rest* of our calling that were *factious* & seditious, were both *countenanced* and applauded in all their seditious courses, and the more they *railed* against our Church Government, the more they were *favoured* by these enemies of the Church Governours. As to *instance* in both particulars (as you may finde in the author of the *Sober Sadnesse p.* 33.) Master *Squire*, Master *Stone*, and Master *Swadlin*, which they have imprisoned, and scarce allowed them straw to ly on. Master *Reading*, Master *Griffith*, Master *Ingoldsby*, Master *Willcocks*, and many others, *having done nothing worthy of death or of bonds*, are inserted into the blacke bill of *Scandalous* and superstitious Ministers, *onely for* preaching *obedience* to Soveraigne authority, and other points *consonant* to the Holy Scriptures; and those that are scandalous *indeed*, as Doctor *Burgesse* the ring-leader of all sedition, Doctor *Downing* that is reputed as variable, as was Doctor *Perne*, Master *Calamy*, that is little better, Master *Harding*, a most vicious man, Master *Bridge* a Socinian, and Master *Marshall*, not free from the suspicion of some unjust perswasions of the weaker sex, & many more such factious men are not onely *dispensed* with, for all faults, but also *rewarded* and advanced for their infidelity to God, and disloyalty to His vicegerent: this the author of the *Sober Sadnesse* affirmeth of them.

The Ministers why persecuted.

2. By framing *petitions* themselves (as it is conceived) in the name of thousands of people, from Cities and Countries, that either never *saw* or never *knew* what was in them, against *Episcopacy* and Episcopall men; and then exhibiting the said petitions unto themselves, and the rest of their *seauced* brethren, to instigate *others* of their own faction, that affected not Episcopacy, and those *offendors* that by their *Ecclesiasticall* censure were *justly* punished, and yet thereby *unjustly* provoked to hate them, to frame the *like* petitions against this *Apostolicall* function, and to make the *world* believe how *odious* these Reverend men were in the judgement of so *many* millions of men, which were indeed

2 way.

Petitions against Episcopacie how unjustly procured.

deed most *ignorant* and simple, and which God knowes, and *themselves* afterwards confessed, knew not *what* they did, nor to what *end* their hands were purloyned from them, under *fair* pretences, that were alleadged for the *Reformation* of some abuses, but were subscribed to most *scandalous* Petitions, which the poor men *utterly* renounced, when they understood how *unchristianly* they were seduced: so *strange* were their plots to make the Bishops odious.

And yet you must not thinke, that *these* courses are more strange than true; for our Saviour tels his Apostles, that were men *beyond* exceptions, *full* of inspirations, and *abundantly* indued with the gifts of sanctification, *They should be hated of all men for his names sake*; and if you look into the sufferings of Saint *Paul*, and the most horrible imputations that were so *scandalously* raised against the *holy* Fathers, you need not admire so much to see *these* men suffering such things at the hands of sinners, to be made the *scorne* of men, and as the *off-scouring* of the people, as they were not *long* since, when the *Bishops* and the *most* learned Preachers might passe with *more* honour, and *lesse* contempt at *Constantinople* among the Turkes, or in *Jerusalem* among the Jewes, than in the Citie of *London* among this brood of *Anabaptists*.

2. How the scumme of the people threaten them.

2. After they had *thus* brought them upon the Stage, and used them thus *strangely* without cause, they get *Ven* and *Manwaring*, and others of the same Sect, to gather together the *scum* of all the prophanest rout, the *vilest* of all men, and the *outcast* of the People, such as *Job* saith, *Are not worthy to eat with the dogges of the flocke*: and as they came *before* for the Earle of *Straffords* head, so now *again*, they must come in great *numbers*, without *order*, without *honestie*, against all *Law*, and beyond all *Religion*, with swords and staves and other *unfashionable* though not *inconsiderable* weapons, to cry *no Papists*, *no Bishops*, and if they had added no *God*, no *Devill*, no *Heaven*, no *Hell*, then surely these men had obtained (if the Parliament *could* have granted their requests) the *summe* of their desires; and they would have thought themselves *better* than either King or Bishop, but as yet they go no farther, than No *Papist*,

piſt, no *Biſhop*; and by this they put the *good* Biſhops in *great* fear, and *well* they might be poſſeſt of that fear, *qui cadit in fortem & conſtantem virum*: for mine *eyes* did ſee them, and mine *eares* did hear it ſaid, *What Biſhop ſoever they met they would be his death*, and I thanked God they *knew not* me to be a Biſhop. Then they ſet upon Saint *Peters* Church of *Weſtminſter*, burſt *part* of the door to pieces, and had they not been moſt *manfully* withſtood by the Archbiſhop of *Yorke* his Gentlemen, and the Prebends *Servants*, together with the *Officers* of the Church, they had *entered*, and likely ranſacked, ſpoiled, and defaced all the *Monuments* of the ancient Kings, broken down the *Organs*, and committed ſuch *ſacriledge* and prophanation of that *holy* place, as their fellow Rebels have done ſince in *Canterbury*, *Wincheſter*, *Worceſter*, and other places, whereof I ſhall ſpeak *hereafter*; the *like* was never ſeen among the Turks and Pagans; and after *theſe* things, what rage, crueltie, and barbaritie they would have ſhewed to the *Dean* and *Prebends*, we might *well* fear, but not *eaſily* judge; I am ſure the *Dean* was forced to hire *armed* Souldiers to preſerve the Church for many dayes after; for ſeeing theſe *riotous* tumults could not as *yet* obtain their ends, they *came*, nay, they were *brought* again and again, and they *juſtled* and offered ſome violence unto the Archbiſhops Grace, as he went with the Earle of *Dover* into the Parliament Houſe, which made him and the reſt of his brethren *juſtly* to fear what might be the *iſſue* of theſe ſad beginnings, which they conceived muſt needs be *very* lamentable, if *timely* remedie were not applied to prevent theſe *untimely* frights and unchriſtian tumults.

Their furious aſſault upon Saint *Peters* Church in *Weſtminſter*.

Therefore when no *Complaints* either to the Houſe of Lords or Commons could produce any ſafe effects, but rather a *frivolous* excuſe than a *ſerious* redreſſe, that they came to *petition* againſt the Government, and not to ſeek the deſtruction of the Governours, the Biſhops were inforced (and in my judgement, fleſh and blood could take no better courſe in *ſuch* a caſe, in ſuch *diſtreſſe*, and I believe it will be found wiſdom hereafter) to make *their* Petition for their ſecuritie, and Proteſtation againſt all Acts as null, (they might have added to them and whom

whom they repreſented) that ſhould be enacted in their *unwilling* abſence, while they were ſo *violently* hindered from the Houſe; and, it may be, *ſome* word might paſſe in this Proteſtation, that might be *bettered*, or explained by another word; yet on ſuch a *ſuddain*, in ſuch a *fright*, when they ſcarce had time to take counſell of their *pillowes*, or to advice with their ſecond thoughts, *Quæ ſemper ſunt ſaniores, to watch for iniquitie, to turne aſide the juſt for a thing of nought, to take advantage of a word*, or to catch men for *one* ſyllable, to charge them with *high* Treaſon to bring them unto *death*, ſo *many* Reverend Biſhops to *ſuch* a ſhamefull end, was more *malicious* than ever I finde the *Jewes* were to the *old* Prophets, or the *Pagan* Tyrants unto the Primitive Fathers, nor do I beleeve you can parallell the ſame charge in any Hiſtorie: yet

Eſay 29. 20, 21.

3. How they were committed to priſon.

3. For this one *neceſſitated* Act of the Biſhops, the Houſe of Commons do *ſuddainly* upon the *firſt* ſight thereof, charge twelve of them with *high* Treaſon; they were not ſo long in *condemning* it as the Biſhops in *compoſing* it, and accordingly the Lords commit them unto Priſon. And if this was *Treaſon*, I demand, why could they not *prove* it ſo to be? Or if it was not, why ſhould ſuch an Houſe, *Flos & medulla regni*, the *greateſt* and the *higheſt* Court of Juſtice, from which (the King conſenting with them) there lieth *none* appeal, but onely to the Court of Heaven, *accuſe* them of high Treaſon? I would not have that Court to charge a man with any thing that were not *moſt* true, for certainly, whoſoever *unjuſtly* compaſſeth my death is *juſtly* guiltie of death himſelfe, when as the Poet ſaith,

——Lex non juſtior ulla,
Quàm necis artifices arte perire ſuâ.

It may be they would have us to *believe* this Treaſon was not *proved*, nor the charge ſo *fully* followed as they intended, out of ſome *mercie* to ſave their lives; but I could *ſooner* believe, they *rejoyced* to ſee them fear, and were *glad* of their miſtake, that they might charge them, and by ſuch a *charge* caſt them into priſon, that ſo they might the *more* eaſily worke their deſigne,

signe, to cast them out of the Parliament, which now they have *soon* effected, and procured an *Act* for their exclusion.

And you must know, that to *cast out* from doing good, or serving God, is a worke of the *devill*, and not of God; so the wicked Husbandmen *did cast out the right Heir of the vineyard*, out of his own inheritance; so the Jewes *did cast out* the blinde man, and all that professed Christ out of their Synagogue. But you may *better* judge of this good Act, by these consequences which are like to be the fruits thereof. The consequences of this Act.

1. Hereby they are all made *incapable* to do *any* good, either for Gods *honour*, or their neighbours *benefit*, by *executing justice, or pronouncing judgement*, in *any* cause in any temporall Court: and *justice* which long agon hath fled to heaven, and wanders as a stranger here on earth, must be countenanced and entertained onely by the sonnes of men, by *secular* Lords and Gentlemen: and the *Spirituall* Lords the Servants of God, and messengers of heaven must have nothing to do with her; not because they are not as *well* able as any other to do justice, but because the others cannot endure to let them see it, for fear they should hinder their *injustice*, and therefore justice and judgement are like to speed well on earth when their chiefest friends are banished from them, and it may be worldlings, oppressours, or most ignorant youthes, rather than any just understanders of their natures must be their Judges. 1. Made incapable of doing any good.

2. Hereby they are made *unable* to defend themselves or their calling from any wrong; their respect was *little enough* before, and their indignities were *great* enough; and yet now we are exposed to *far* greater miseries, and to *unresistable* injuries, when a *Bishop* hath not so much Authoritie as a *Constable*, to withstand his greatest affronts. 2. Made unable to defend themselves.

But *hoc Ithacus velit*, this is that which the devill and his great *Atreidesses*, his prime champions to enlarge his kingdom would fain have, our *soules to remain among Lions*, and all the *meanes* of defence to be taken from us, our *enemies* to be our judges, and our selves to be murdered with our own weapons. In the time of *Poperie* there were many Lawes *de immunitate clericorum*, whereby we were so *protected*, that the greatest

Prince could not oppresse us, as you may finde in the Reigne of King *John*, and almost in all our Histories: and when we *renounced* the Pope, God made *Kings our nursing fathers, and Queenes our nursing mothers*, and we putting our selves under their protection, have been hitherto most *gratiously* protected: but *now* by this Act we are left *naked* of all defence, and set under the very *sword* of our Adversaries, and as the Psalmist saith, *They that hated us are made Lords over us*, to call us, to assesse us, to undo us.

3. Debarred of that right that none else are.

3. Hereby they are made more *slavish* than the *meanest* Subject, and deprived of *that* benefit and priviledge which the *poorest* Shoomaker, Tailor, or any other Tradesman or yeoman hath most *justly* left unto him, for to be *excluded*, debarred, and altogether made *uncapable* of any benefit is such an *insupportable* burden, that it is set upon no mans shoulders but upon the Clergie alone, as if they alone were either *unworthy* to receive, or *unable* to do any good.

4. Made more contemptible than all others.

4. Hereby they are made the *unparalleled* spectacle of all *neglect* and scorne to all forraigne people; for I can hardly believe the *like* precedent can be shewed in *any* Age, or any *other* Nation of the world, no not among the very Infidels or *Indians*; for in *former* times the Bishops and Clergie-men were thought the *fittest* instruments to be imployed in the *best* places of *greatest* trust, and *highest* importance in the Common-wealth, and Kings made them their Embassadours, as the Emperour *Valentinian* did S. *Ambrose*, and our own Chronicles relate how former times respected the Clergie, and how our Kings made them both their Counsellors, and their *Treasurers*, *Chancellors*, Keepers of the *Great Seal*, and the like Officers of the *chiefest* concernment, as *Ethelbert* in the yeer of Christ 605. saith, I *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, with the consent of the Reverend Archbishop *Augustine*, and of my Princes, do give and grant, &c. and the said *Ethelbert* with the Queen and his Son *Eadbald*, and the most Reverend Prelate *Augustine*, and with the rest of the Nobilitie of the Land solemnly kept his Christmasse at *Canterbury*, and there assembled a Common Counsell, *Tam cleri quàm populi*, as well of the Clergie as of the people; and

Vt refert in tract. atu suo de episcopatu p. 61 62. M. *Theyer.* Sir *Henry Spelman p.* 118.

King

King *Adelstan* saith, I *Adelstan* the King do signifie unto all the Officers in my Kingdom, that by the advice of *Wolfelme* my Archbishop, and of all my Bishops. In the great Councell of King *Ina*, *Anno* 712. the edicts were enacted by the Common Counsell and consent *Omnium Episcoporum & principum, procerum, Comitum & omnium sapientum seniorum, & populorum totius regni & per præceptum regis Inæ*: and in the second Charter of King *Edward* the Confessour, granted to the Church of Saint *Peter* in *Westminster*, it is said to be *Cum concilio & decreto Archiepiscoporum Episcoporum, Comitum, aliorumque suorum optimatum*, with the councell and decree of the Archbishops, Bishops, Earles, and other Potentates. And so not onely the Saxon Kings, but the Norman also ever since the Conquest had the Bishops in the like or greater esteem, that they never held Parliament or Counsell without them. And *surely* these Princes were no Babes that made this choice of them, neither was the *Common* wealth neglected, nor *justice* prejudiced by these Governours. And whosoever shall reade *mores gentium*, or the pilgrimage of Master *Purchas*, *Livie*, *Plutarch*, *Appian*, and the rest of the Greek and Latine Histories, I dare *assure* him, he shall finde *greater* honour given, and farre *lesse* contempt cast upon the Priests and Flamins, the Prophets of the *Sybils*, then we finde of this *faction* left to the Servants of the living God, who are now dealt withall worse, than *Pharaoh* dealt with the *Israelites* that took away their *straw* and yet required their *full* tale of brickes; for these men would *rob* us of all our meanes and take away all our *Lands*, and all our *rights*, and yet require not only the *full* tale of Sermons and Service, as was used by our *Predecessours*, but to *double* our *files*, to *multiplie* our paines, and to *treble* the Sermons and Service, that they used to have of our forefathers, more than ever was done in any Age since the first Plantation of the Gospell; and when we have done with *John Baptist*, the utmost of our endeavours, like a *shining* and a *burning* lampe, that doth waste and consume it selfe to *nothing*, while it giveth light to others, they *onely* deal with us, as Carriers use to do with their packe horses, hang bels at their eares to make a *melodious* noise, but with *little* provander lay *heavie*

Idem p. 403.

Idem p. 219.

How former times respected the Clergie.

How the Clergie are now used.

loades upon their backes, and when they can bear no more *burdens*, take away their *bels*, withdraw their *praiſes*, call them *Jades*, exclaim againſt their *lazineſſe*, and then at laſt, turne them *out* to feed upon the commons, and to dig in a ditch; and *thus* we have now made the Miniſters of Chriſt to be the *emblems* of all miſerie, and in pretending to make them more *glorious* in the ſight of God, we have made them moſt *baſe* in the eyes of all men.

And therefore the conſequence of this Act is like to prove moſt *lamentable*, when the people, conſidering how that *hereby* we are left *naked* of all comfort, and *ſubject* to all *kinde* of ſcorne and diſtreſſe, and how that *this* being effected is but the *preludium* of a farre greater miſchiefe, they will rather with *no* great coſt make their children of ſome *good* Trade, and their children will chooſe ſo to be, than with ſuch great coſt and *more* care, and yet *little* hope, to bring them up to *worſe* condition than the *meaneſt* of all Trades, or the *loweſt* degree of all ruſtickes; when as they can *challenge*, and it ſhall not be *denied* them, to have the *priviledges* of the Law, and a *propertie* in their goods, which without their *own* conſent, yielded in their *perſons* or their *repreſentours*, cannot be taken from them; and the Clergie *onely* of all the people in this Kingdom, ſhall be deprived of the *right* and benefit of our *great* Charter, which ſo many *famous* Kings and *pious* Princes have confirmed unto us; and when we have laboured *all* the dayes of our lives with *great* paines and *more* diligence, to inſtruct our people, and to attain to ſome *competencie* of meanes to maintain our ſelves and our families, we ſhall be in the power of theſe men, at their pleaſure, under the *pretence* of Religion, contrarie to all *juſtice*, to be deprived of *any* part of our freehold, when we ſhall have not *one* man of our *own* calling to ſpeak a word in our behalfe, on no Seat of Juſtice throughout the whole Kingdom.

The Clergie alone are deprived of *Magna Charta.*

O terque quaterque beati, queis ante ora patrum contigit oppetere, O moſt *miſerable* and lamentable condition of Gods Miniſters; I muſt needs ſpeak it, though I ſhould die for it; and if *ſome* did not ſpeak it, I thinke the *ſtones* would crie againſt it,

it, and proclaim it *better* for the Clergie, *were their hope onely in this world*, never to have been borne, or at least never to have seen a *book*, then to fall into the *hands*, and to be put under the *censure* of these men that do *thus* love Christ, by *hating* his Ministers, who as I said before, by this *one* Act are made liable to undergo *all* kinde of evils, which shall not onely fall upon the *present* Clergie, (for were it so, our patience should teach us to be silent) but also to the *increase* of all prejudices to the Gospell, more than *my* foresight can expresse, in all succeeding Ages.

This Act more prejudiciall to to the future times than now.

And therefore I may well say with *Jeremie*, *Shall not my soul be avenged on such a nation as this?* And we need not wonder, that such *plagues*, calamities and distresses, have so much encreased in this Kingdom ever since the passing of this Act, and yet *the anger of the Lord is not turned away, but his hand is stretched out still*, and I fear, his wrath will not be appeased, till we have *blotted* this, and wiped away all other our *great* sinnes and transgressions, with the *truest* teares of unfained repentance.

Jer. 5. 9 29.

These are like to be the *consequences* of this Act; and yet our *good* King, who we know loved our Nation and built us a Synagogue, and was (as I assure my selfe) most *unwilling* to passe it, was notwithstanding *over-perswaded* (considering where thirteen of the Bishops *were*, even in prison, and in what *condition* all the rest of them stood, in question whether all they should *stand*, or be *cut down* root and branch) to yield his *assent* unto the Act; though if the case in truth were *rightly* weighed, not much *lesse* prejudiciall to his Majestie than *injurious* to us, to be thus *deprived* of our right, and *exposed* to all miseries, by excluding us from all Civill Judicature: and I would to God the King and all the Kingdom did continually *consider*, how his Majestie was used *ever since* the confirmation of this Act; for they no *sooner* had excluded the Bishops and Clergie out of their *right*, but *presently* they proceeded, and *prosecuted* the designe ever since, to *thrust* out the King from all those *just* rights and prerogatives, which *God* and *nature* and the *Lawes* of our Land have put into his hands, for the government

How the King hath been used ever since this Act passed.

ment of this Kingdome; neither was it *likely* to ſucceede *any* otherwiſe, as I have *fully* ſhewed, and I would all Kings would read it, in the *Grand* Rebellion.

That the act ſhould be annulled.

But I ſee no reaſon why it *may not* and why it *ſhould* not be *retracted* and annulled, when the Houſes ſhall be purged of that *Anabaptiſticall* and Rebellious faction, that contrived and procured the ſame to paſſe, for theſe three ſpeciall reaſons;

1. reaſon.

1. Becauſe that contrary to all former precidents, that Bill for their excluſion, was (as it is reported) at the *firſt* refuſed, and after a *full* hearing among the Lords, it was by *moſt* votes, by more then a dozen voices, rejected; and yet, to ſhew unto the world, that the factions *malice* againſt the Biſhops had no end, & their rage was ſtill *implacable*, at the ſame Seſſion, & which is very conſiderable, immediatly *aſſoone* as ever they underſtood it was rejected, the Houſe of Commons *revived* it, and ſo preſſed it unto the Lords, that (if I may have leave to ſpeake the truth) contrary to all right, * it muſt be *againe* received; and while the Biſhops were in priſon, it was, with what honour I know not *ſtrangely* confirmed.

* For I conceave this to be an approved *maxime*, that no *right*, not proved *forfitea* by ſome offence, can be taken away without wrong

2 Reaſon

2. Becauſe this Bill had the *Royall* aſſent after that a moſt *riotous* tumult, & *many* thouſands of men, with all ſorts of *warlike* weapons both on land and water moſt *diſloyally had driven* His Majeſtie to fly from *London*, that moſt Rebellious City, not without feare, for his owne ſafety, even *for the ſafety of his life* as himſelfe profeſſeth; and when they had ſo cunningly *contrived* their plot, as to get ſome of the Kings ſervants and friends, that were about him and imployed in the Queenes affaires, to perſwade Her Majeſty to uſe all her *power* with the King for the paſſing of this Bill, or elſe Her *journey* ſhould be ſtaied, as formerly they had altered her reſolution for the Spaw; and at *Rocheſter* ſhe ſhould underſtand the ſenſe of the Houſe to ſtop Her *paſſage* unto *Holland*, whereas the paſſing of this *Bill* might make way for Her paſſage over; and many other ſuch *frights* and *feares*, they put both upon the King and Queene, to inforce him full ſore againſt his will, as we beleive, to paſſe this *harſh* Bill, for the excluſion of the ſpirituall Lords out of the Houſe of Peeres, and of all the Clergy from all *Secular* Judicature.

In His Majeſties anſwer to the Petition of the Lords and Commons, 16 of July. p. 8.

But

But Maſter *Pym* will tell us, as he did, that it was the *opinion* of both Houſes, there was no occaſion given by any tumults, that might juſtly cauſe His Majeſties departure. Ald. *Gar.* ſpeech at *Guild-hall.*

To whom I anſwere with the words of Alderman *Garroway* if the Houſes had declared that it had beene *lawfull* to beat the King out of Town, I muſt have ſate ſtill with wonder (though I ſhould *never* beleive it) but when they declare matters of *fact*, which is equally within our own knowledge, and wherein we *cannot* be deceived, as in the things we have *ſeene* with our eyes, if they diſſent from *truth*, they muſt give me leave to *differ* from them: as if they ſhould declare, they have paied all the *money* that they owe unto the city, or that there was * no *Croſſe* ſtanding in Cheapſide, we ſhall *hardly beleive* them.

* For now I underſtand it is pulled down.

And therfore, ſeeing we all remember, when the *alarme* was given, that there was an *attempt* from Whitehall upon the City, how *hardly* it was appeaſed, and how no *babies* thought the *deſigne* of thoſe ſubtle heads that gave that *falſe* alarme was no *leſſe*, then to have cauſed Wite-hall to be pulled downe. and they that *loved* the King, and ſaw the *Army both* by *Land* and *water* which accompanied the perſons accuſed to Weſtminſter the *next day* after His Majeſties departure, (as if they had paſſed in a *Roman* triumph) conceived the danger to be ſo *great*, that I call *Heaven* to witneſſe, they *bleſſed* God that ſo *graciouſly* put it in the Kings heart rather to *paſſe* away over night, though very late, *then hazard* the danger that might have enſued the day following:

The *meaning* therefore of both Houſes may be, that there was *nothing* done, which they *confeſſed* to be a tumult; and no mervaile; becauſe they received *incouragement*, as we beleeved from their defence, and no *reproofe*, that we found was made, for this indignity offered unto the King: but if I be *conſtrained* and in danger, it is not *enough* for me, that I am *voted* free and ſafe; for if that, which lookes, as like a tumult, as that did, or, as the repreſentation of my face in the trueſt glaſſe is like my face, doth come againſt me and incompaſſe me about, though I may be, perhaps, in *more* ſafety; yet I ſhall thinke my ſelfe in *great* feare, and in no *more* ſecurity then His Majeſtie was at *Edge-hill.*

3. Becauſe,

3 Reaſon. p. 7. 3. Becauſe, as the *veiwer* of the *Obſervat.* hath very well expreſt it, no act of Parliament can prevaile to *deprive* the King of His right and authority; as *an attainder* by Parliament could not barre the *title* to the Crowne from deſcending on King *Hen.* 7. nor was an *act* of Parliament diſabling King *Hen.* 6. to re-aſſume the government of his people, of *any* force, but without any *repeale* in it ſelfe fruſtrate and void. 7. rep. 14. *Calvins* caſe; an *act* of Parliament cannot take away the *protection* or the Subjects *ſervice*, which is due by the Law of nature. 11. rep. *Sur de la Wares* caſe, *William de la Ware* although diſabled by *act* of Parliament, was nevertheleſſe called by Queene *Elizabeth* to ſit as a peere in Parliament; for that it ſeems the Queen could not be barred of the *ſervice* and councell of any of Her Subjects; 2. *H.* 7. 6 a *ſtatute*, that the King by no *non obſtante* ſhall diſpence with it, is void; becauſe it would take a *neceſſary* part of government out of the Kings hand: and therefore I ſe not how *this* act can deprive the King of the *ſervice* and councell of all his Biſhops and clergy, but that it is void of it ſelfe and needeth no repeale; or if otherwiſe, yet ſeeing that beſides all this, 13 of the Biſhops were ſhut in priſon when this act paſſed, and their proteſtation was made long before this time, and it was ſo unduly framed, ſo illegally proſecuted, and with ſuch compulſive threats and terrours procured to be paſſed, I hope the *wiſedome* of the next Parliament, together with their *love* and reſpect to the Church and Church-men will nullifie the ſame.

CHAP. VI.

Sheweth the plots of the faction to gaine unto themſelves the freindſhip and aſſiſtance of the Scotts; and to what end they framed their new proteſtation; how they provoked the Iriſh to rebell, and what other things they gained thereby.

AND thus the *Sectaries* of this Kingdome and the faction in this Parliament have by their craft & ſubtilty prevailed to have all the *cheifeſt* impediments of their deſign to be removed:

ſo

so now the *hedge* is broken downe, and all the *bores* of the forrest may *now* come into the vineyard, to destroy the *vine*, and to undermine the *Citie* of God: but *into their counsells let not my soule come.*

2. When they had taken away these *stops* and hinderances of their projects, they were to recollect and make up the *furtherances*, that might helpe to advance their cause for the *founding* of their *new* Church, and the *establishing* of their famous *democraticall* government & popular Common-wealth. And these I find to be principally five.

2. The furtherances of their designe were five.

1. The gaining of their brethren of *Scotland* to become their fast and faithfull freinds.

2. The framing of a *Protestation* to frighten the *Papists* and to insnare the *simple*, to be led as they listed to prosecute their designe.

3. The condemning of our *late canons*, as abominable in their judgement and *inconsistent* with their religion;

4. The appointing of a *new Synod*, the like whereof was never heard in the Church, since *Adam*, to compose *such articles* as they liked, and to frame such *discipline* as should be most agreeable to their owne dispositions.

5. The setling of a *militia*, a word that the vulgar knew not what it was, for to *secure* the Kingdome, as they pretended, from those dangers that they feared, that is, from those *Jackes* of lent and men of *clouts*, which themselves set up as *deadly* enemies unto the Church and state; but indeed *insensibly* to get all the *strength* of the Realme into their own hands and their confiderates, that so they might like the *Ephori*, bridle the King, and bring him as they pleased, to *abolish* and *establish* what lawes and government they should propose; whereby, perhaps, he might continue King in *name* but they in *deed*.

These were the things they *aymed* at, and they effected the first *three*, before they could be *discried* and their plots discovered; but in the other *two* they were prevented, when God said unto them, as he doth unto the Sea, *hitherto shalt thou goe and no further, here shalt thou stay thy proud Waves*: and therefore, I am confident, and I wish all good Christians were so, that their

purpoſes ſhall never ſucceed, nor themſelves *proſper* therein, while the world laſteth; becauſe God hath ſo mercifully *revealed* ſo much, ſo graciouſly *aſſiſted* our King, and ſo miraculouſly, not only *delivered* him from them, but alſo *ſtrengthened* him againſt them, contrary to all appearing likely-hood, to this very day; which is a *ſufficient* argument to ſecure our faith, that we ſhall, by the helpe of our God, eſcape all the *reſt* of their deſtructive deſignes.

But to diſplay their *banners*, to diſcover their *projects*, and to let the *world* ſee what they are, and how *cloſely* & yet *cunningly* they went about to effect their worke, I will in a *plaine* manner ſet down what I know, and what I have collected from other writings, and from men that are *fide digni*, (for one mans eyes cannot ſee all things, nor *infallibly* perceive the myſteries of all particulars) for to *confirme* the faithfull Subjects in their due obedience, both to God and their King, and to *undeceave* the poore ſeduced people, that they periſh not in the contradiction of *Corah*.

The indeering of themſelves unto the Scots

Our Sectaries the inviters of the Scots to England.

1. It is *beleeved* not without cauſe, with far greater probabilities then a *bare* ſuſpicion, that our own *anabaptiſticall* Sectaries and this *faction* were the firſt inviters of thoſe angry ſpirits (that *conceived* ſome cauſe to be diſcontented, and were glad of *ſecret* entertainers) to enter into the boſome of this Kingdome; whatſoever thoſe our brethren of *Scotland* did I will bury it according to their Act, in oblivion; neither *approving* nor yet *blaming* them for any thing. But for any *Subject* of *England*, to enterchange Meſſages, and to keepe *private* intelligence, with any that ſeeme to be in armes againſt their King, and the invaders of his Dominions, to *animate* them to come, and advance forward; to *refuſe* their Soveraignes *ſervice*, and the *oath* of their fidelity, which was tendered unto them, and to *hinder* the Kings ſoldiers to doe their duties, either by denying to *goe* with him, or refuſing to *fight* for him when they went, (which if ſome men were brought to their *Legall* tryall, I beleeve would be *more* then ſufficiently proved againſt them) can be no leſſe then *haynous* crimes, perhaps within the compaſſe of high Treaſon.

Or

Or were theſe things but our *jealouſies* and feares, which do wear the *garments* of Truth, yet their *proceedings* in Parliament do adde more fuell unto the fire of our ſuſpicion; as, for our men, whom we had choſen to *plead* for us, and to *treat* with them, to reſpect them more than us, to *enrich* them, by impoveriſhing us; giving them no leſſe than 300000.l. who had entered into our Land, and brought upon us ſuch *feares*, of I know not how many miſchiefes that might ſucceed, and not onely ſo, but alſo, (to ſhew what *love* they bare to them, and how *little* regard they had of us, their *native* brethren, that put ſuch *truſt* and confidence in their fidelitie, as to commit all our fortunes and liberties into their hands) paying *weekly* ſuch a penſion for their proviſion, (beſides the maintainance of our *own* Armie, which were forced to carry them their monies, when themſelves were unpaid) as in a *ſhort* time was able to exhauſt *all* the wealth of this Kingdom, and yet for all his Majeſties *continuall* calling upon them to *diſpatch* their diſcharge, and to *finiſh* the Treatie, for the good of *both* Kingdomes, keeping them here ſo *long*, and making ſo *much* of them, (which in truth we envied not, but admired what it meant, when we ſaw with what continuall *feaſtings* they were entertained in *London*, and their *lodgings* frequented as the Kings Court) till all the People began to *murmur*, and to wax wearie of ſo *great* a charge and ſuch a burden as they knew muſt at laſt light upon their ſhoulders; which muſt needs be matters worthy of our beſt examinations.

How they behaved themſelves towards the Scots.

But as yet the *common* people that ſeeth no further than the *preſent* tenſe, and the outſide of things, did *little* know, what many wiſe men did then *foreſee*, that theſe men aymed *further* than they ſeemed to do, and delayed the buſineſſe *purpoſely* till they had attained *many* of their deſires, and had fully *endeared* themſelves into the affections of the *Scots*, that (if need required, that they could not effect *all* the reſidue of their deſigne, as they intended, which now could not ſo *ſuddainly* be brought unto perfection,) they might *recall* them here again to aſſiſt them, to do that by *force*, which by their *craft* and ſubtiltie they ſhould fail to do; as now by their *ſending* for them, *going* unto them, and alleaging the *Act* of Pacification for their aſ-

Why they detained them here ſo long.

sistance, to *withstand* their King and to *overthrow* our Church, it is apparent to all the world how *perfidiously* they dealt with God and man, and how *treacherous* their thoughts were from the beginning both to the King and Kingdom. Yet as we found our Brethren of *Scotland* (howsoever *these* men bevaved themselves in their *secret* intentions) to have carried themselves none otherwise than as *wise*, rationall and religious men, in all the Treatie; so I assure my selfe they will hereafter still continue, both *faithfull* unto God, and *loyall* unto their King; and as they *perceived* not their intentions at the first, so they will not now *joyne* with them in any *Association* of Rebellion to withstand their *own* Liege Lord, and to change the established Lawes and Religion of our Kingdom; but will rather live in *peace* and happinesse in their own Land, than by forsaking their enjoyed quietnesse, to involve themselves in the *unhappinesse* of a desperate War in another Countrey.

2. The compelling of all people to take their new framed Protestation.

2. After they had thus *endeared* themselves unto their Brethren of *Scotland*, they framed a *Protestation*, to maintain and defend, as farre as lawfully they might, with their lives, powers and estates the True Reformed Protestant Religion, his Majesties Royall Person, honour and estate; the power and priviledges of Parliament, the lawfull rights and liberties of the Subjects, and every person that should make the same Protestation, in whatsoever he should do in the lawfull pursuance of the same; and to their power, and as farre as lawfully they might to oppose, and by all good wayes and meanes, endeavour to bring to condigne punishment all such as shall either by force, practise, counsels, plots, conspiracies, or otherwise* do any thing to the contrary of any thing in the said Protestation contained; and neither for fear, hope, nor other respect to relinquish this promise, vow and protestation.

* Which word is like the &c. in the Canonical Oath.

In which *Protestation*, though no man can espie the *least* shadow of ill, *prima facie*, at the first reading thereof; yet if you look *further*, and search narrowly into the *intentions* of the composers, the *frame* of the Protestation, and the *practise* of these Protestors, ever since the framing of it, you shall finde that *Desinit in piscem mulier formosa supernè*: these men are

no

no *Changelings*, but as like themselves as ever they were; for,

1. As it was intended, so it succeeded; it *terrified* the Papists, and made them so *desperate* as almost to despair of their very being, as concerning the *place where* or the *manner how* they should live; which thing, together with *many other harsh* and hard proceedings against many of them, and the small countenance which they shewed unto a very *moderate* Petition that the *Papists* exhibited unto them, hath driven abundance of them into *Ireland*, (whom I saw my selfe) and there consulting with the *Irish*, (which were then also threatened by the *Agents* of this *faction* there, that ere long they should be *severely* handled, and brought to the Church whether they would or no, or pay such a *mulct* as should make them poor) what course they should take in such a *desperate* condition, wherein they were all like to be *ruined*, or to be *rooted* out of all the Kings Dominions, they concluded what they would do; to *defend* themseves by a *plain Rebellion*. So this course against them hath been the leading card (as some of them confessed) of that great Rebellion; which being *kindled* (as some Sectaries in *England* expected) they thought they would so much the more weaken the King, by how much the more combustion should be raised in each one of his Dominions: and therefore notwithstanding all the Kings gracious *Messages* and wishes unto the House of Commons (which I wish all men would remember, how *affectionately* he desired it) to *hasten* to releeve that *bleeding* Kingdom, yet still they *protracted* and neglected their redresse; and at last, passed such *Votes*, made such *Orders*, and procured such Acts, as rather respected themselves and their posteritie, to get all the land and goods of the Rebels to themselves, that were the Adventurers, than the relieving of us that were distressed, and would (as I told some of the House of Commons) rather *increase* the Rebellion than any wayes *quench* that destroying flame. And this was (as it succeeded, and as you see hereby, most likely intended) a most *detestable* plot, for the *kindling* of that Rebellion, and *continuing* of that bloody War in *Ireland*, without which they knew this Rebellion in *England* could never have gained so much strength as it hath.

1. To terrifie the Papists, and to raise a rebellion in *Ireland*.

2. To gaine all Sectaries to their side.

2. By their large *expression* of what religion they protested to defend, not the *Protestant* religion, as it is *established* by Law and *expressed* in the 39 articles of the Church of *England*; but as it is *repugnant* to popery, and taught perhaps by *Burton*, *Burges*, *Goodwin*, *Burrowes*, or the like *Amsterdamian* schismatickes, they opened the gap so *wide*, and made Heaven gate so *broad* that all *Brownists*, *Anabaptists*, *Socinians*, *Familists*, *Adamites* and all other new *England* brood and outlandish Sectaries what soever, that oppoted *popery*, might returne home and joyne with them, as they have done since, to *overthrow* our established Church, and state. And this plot, to increase their own *strength* was as *craftily* don, and is as *Detestable* as the other, which to weaken the King in *England*, caused a rebellion in *Ireland*.

3. To descry their owne strength.

3. By their *illegall* compelling and forcible inducing of all the people in the Kingdome to take the same, or to be adjudged ill affected and popish, and after the Lords had rejected the imposing of it, they by their *Declaration*, which shewed, that what person *soever* would not take it, was unfit to beare *office* either in Church or Common wealth, prevailed in this plot so that they descried the number of their owne party, they understood their own strength, and they perceived thereby *many* things, which they knew not before; for now they had with *David numbred Israel*, and so far as the wit and policy of the Devill had instructed them, they had searched into the *secrets* of all hearts

4. To insnare all the simpler sort to adhere unto them.

4. Having *compelled* the people to take it, they have hereby *insnared* all the *simpler* sort and tender consciences to sticke unto them, when they tell them and *presse* it upon their soules, that they have made a *Protestation* to maintaine the *priviledges* of Parliament, and the *Liberty* of the Subject, and therefore they are *bound* to adhere to the Parliament to the *uttermost* of their power; and so by this *equivocall* Protestation, they have *seduced* thousands into their Rebellion, and led them *blindfold* unto destruction.

The mystery of their iniquity.

But to let you see not the *syncerity* of their hearts, but the *mystery* of their iniquity, by this their *Protestation*, you shall never find them *urge* it unto others, or *remembring* it themselves for the defence

defence of the Kings *Perſon* Crowne or dignity, or for the liberty of *any* Subject, but only *ſuch* Subjects as will be Rebells with them: for how can they be ſaid to defend *any* of theſe, when they doe their *very* beſt to *deſtroy* his perſon, and deprive him of all his *royall* dignities? and to plunder and impriſon all *true* Subjects for being *true* Subjects unto their King? Whereby you ſee how theſe *Rebells* are likewiſe *perjured*, and have weaved this Proteſtation like a *ſpiders* web, through which themſelves might paſſe when they pleaſed, and like *Vulcans* net to catch the ſimpler ſort to adheere moſt *eagerly* to their deſignes; and ſo it is but a circle of all ſubtleties, & not unwittily queſtioned, *an proteſtatio parliamentaria deterior ſit juramento cum* &c. for if there *be any* thing injoyned to be done by that Proteſtation, which was *unlawfull* to be done before the Proteſtation was taken, it is no more to be *juſtified* by that act, then any other unlawfull thing is by a *raſh* and wicked vow; and it ought not to be urged to doe miſcheife; and if there be *nothing* to be injoyned thereby, but what was *every* mans duty before, there was but *ſmall* need, to draw any argument from any proteſtation: but if they intended to draw men from the *duty* of alleageance to which they were legally ſworne, and all men underſtood, to doe ſome-what which the *ignorant* did not underſtand, then ſuch a *voluntarie* proteſtation might do the deed; for they have proteſted to maintain the *priviledges* of Parliament. And yet the *wiſeſt* of us now may *juſtly* proteſt, wee cannot tell what *thoſe* priviledges are, or how *far* they ſhould *extend* in the judgement of the Houſe of Commons; for they are *multiplied* like the rats of *Egypt*, and as *Pharaohs* leane kine did eat up all his fat Cowes, ſo theſe *meager* priviledges have eaten up all our *goodly* lawes. And therefore, the *unlimited* univerſality of theſe priviledges in the *Proteſtation*, extending it ſelfe as far as the *et cetera*, in the *Canonicall* oath, was but a *miſcheivous* plot in the contrivers, to catch the ſimple to adhere unto them; and it is a *madneſſe* in any man that hath *legally* ſworne to defend the Kings *Perſon*, Crowne, and dignity, which he knoweth, and hath *irregularly* proteſted to maintaine the *priviledges* of Parliament, which hee knoweth not, immediatly to draw his ſword againſt his *known* Soveraigne,

That the rebells are all perjurers

Priviledges of Parl. multiplyed, and are like Pharaohs kine.

raigne or to Rebell againſt his well-known lawful authority, in the behalfe of ſome thing, he Knoweth *not* what, but is told by *thoſe* men it is a *priviledge* of Parliament. *O ye unwiſe among the the people, when will you underſtand; who hath bewitched you, that you ſhould not beleive the truth?*

CHAP. VII.

Sheweth how the faction was inraged againſt our laſt canons; what manner of men they choſe in their new ſynod; and of ſix ſpecial Acts of great prejudice unto the Church of Chriſt which under falſe pretences they have already done.

3. The condemning of our laſt Canons.

3. FOr the *Canons*, that were laſt made, I muſt confeſſe my *ſelfe* and many others of my Brethren were *very* averſe unto our ſitting, to make any at that time; yet *many* reaſons were ſhewed us, that we might ſit (and we had the *Judges* of the common Lawes opinion under their hands ſhewed us for the *legality* of our ſitting) and conclude *ſuch* canons as might be for the *glory* of God and the *good* of his Church; but of thoſe that are made, though I aſſure my ſelfe the *worſt* of them is not ſo ill as they alleadge, nor *neere* ſo bad as *moſt* (I might ſay the *beſt*) of their *illegall* orders; yet there were *many* of us that never gave our *votes* to paſſe them; and though not for any *offence* that we ſaw in them, yet, for the *ſcandall* that might be taken at them we *hartily* wiſhed they had never beene ſo zelouſly propounded at *that* time.

But the *Sectaries* of *London* and the *prevalent* faction in Parliament did, with open mouth, ſpend much time to the *no ſmall* prejudice of the whole Kingdome, and made many *long* ſpeeches to exclaime againſt them, as againſt a *bundle* of ſuperſtitions, that obſcured the *purity* of our religion, an *introduction* unto popery, and an *intolerable*, unheard of the like invaſion upon the liberty of the ſubjects, that revived againe the *papall* tyranny, which contary to our *fundamentall* lawes had incroached to make *canons* and conſtitutions to bind our conſciences; where-

upon

upon they *canvas* them and condemne them out of *their* houſe and the houſe of God, out of the *Church* and *Commonwealth*: and not only ſo, but alſo the *contrivers* of them and *conſenters* to them; they terrify and threaten to adjudge them, ſometimes with a *præmunire*, to have forfeited *all* their goods and poſſeſſions, and ſometimes to *be fin'd*, (as we were at laſt) with ſuch a *heavy* mulct, as in all other mens judgement did farre exceed the *pretended* offence, eſpecially of us that never *conſented* to them.

And yet we find not only in *Lindwood*, and others of our Canoniſts, but alſo in the book of *Martyrs*, and the reſt of our Engliſh hiſtories, that the *Arch-Biſhops*, within their Provinces, have at *ſeverall* times made Canons and Conſtitutions, for the *regulating* of all the people committed to their charge, without any ſuſpicion of the leaſt violation of our lawes; but the *faction* ſay *ſic volumus*, and the houſes of Parliament underſtand what is law better then I do, and therefore accordingly (before the *makers* of them were called to make their anſwers, by what *authority* they made them, or by what law they could juſtify them) they reject the Canons and cenſure their makers. Yet notwithſtanding their diſtaſt of them, it is conceived by ſome that the *clergy* having His Majeſties *writ* to be convocated, and *leave* to compoſe ſuch Canons, as they thought fit to be obſerved, for the *honour* of God, the diſcharge of their duty, and the *good* of the Church, and having the *royall* aſſent and approbation to all that they concluded; (which is all that I find the *Statute* provided in this caſe requireth) though they ſhould be *defective* or perhaps offenſive in ſome *circumſtances*, yet if they be not *legally* abrogated, after a *full* hearing of all parties, and the *Kings* conſent to *reject* them, as it was to *approve* them, they are ſtill as *binding*, and in as *full* force as ever they were; though for mine *owne* part, I will not undertake the *taske*, to make that good, when as *both* the Houſes have condemned them; but I ſay:

4. This *Scandall* taken againſt theſe *Canons* made way for the *faction* to call for a *new Synod* or aſſembly of Divines, for the rectifying of things amiſſe, as well in *Diſcipline* as in *Doctrine*; 4. The appointing of a new framed Synod.

Lay-men choosers of the Clergie, as if a shepheard did choose precious stones.

And in this *new* intended Synod, the Divines are nominated, not according to the *rules* and Canons of the Church, and the *customes* of all Nations, since the *first* Synod or Councell of the Apostles, by *Divines*, that can *best* judge of their own abilities, as when *the spirit of the Prophets is subject to the Prophets*: but fearing the *Clergie* would have sent men that were too *orthodoxall* for their faith, they deprived them of their rights, and forgetting their *Protestation* to defend the *right* of the Subject, the choice is made by *themselves*, that are *Lay* men, and *young* men, and many of them perhaps *prophane* men, or at least not *so* religious, nor so judicious as they ought to be, for a businesse of this nature, of so *great* concernment, as the direction of our soules to their eternall blisse.

What manner of men they have chosen.

And now they being nominated, we know *most* of them what they are; men, not onely *justly* suspected to be *ill* disposed to the peace of our Church, and *too much* addicted to innovation, to alter the *Government*, to reject and cast away the *Book* of Common Prayer, to oppose *Episcopacie*, and to displace the grave and godly *Governours* of Gods Church; but also apparently fashioned to the humours of these their own Disciples (who are to be the *onely* judges of their determinations) that (although some *few* Canonicall men, and *most Reverend*, learned and religious *Bishops*, and others, for *fashion* sake, to blinde the world, are named amongst them, yet, when as in a *Parliament*, so in a *Synod*, the most desperate faction, if they prove prevalent, to be the *major* part, will carry any thing in despite of the better part, they shall stand but as *cyphers*, able to do nothing) they might abolish our *old* established Government, erect their own *new* invented Discipline, and propagate their well affected Doctrine in all Churches; for you may judge of them by their compeeres, *Goodwin*, *Burrowes*, *Arrow-Smith*, and the rest of their *ignorant*, factious, and schismaticall Ministers, that together with those intruding *Mechanickes*, (who without *any* calling either from God or man, do step from the *Botchers* boord, or their *Horses* stable into the *Preachers* Pulpit) are the *bellowes* which blow up this fire, that threateneth the destruction of our Land, like *Sheba*'s trumpet, to summon the people

ple unto Rebellion, and like the *red dragon* in the *Revelation*, which gave them all his *poyson*, and made them *eloquent*, to disgorge their malice, and to cast forth *floods* of slanders, after those that keep *loyaltie* to their Soveraigne, and to belch forth their *unsavory* reproaches against those that discover their *affected* ignorance, and *seditious* wickednesse, in defence of truth; and are the *instruments* of this faction, to seduce the poor people to the *desolation* of the whole Kingdom, if not *timely* prevented by their *repentance*, and assistance to enable him whom God hath made our *Protectour* to defend us against all such *transcendent* wickednesse. And these are the *maine* ends for which they summoned *such* a new Synod of their *furious* and fanatique teachers, upon whose *temper* and fidelitie, I believe, no *wise* man that knows them would lay the *least* weight of his soules felicitie. Whereas if they desired a *Reformation* of things amisse, and not rather an *alteration* of our Religion and the *abolition* of our now setled Government, they would have called for *such* a Synod as was in Queen *Elizabeths* time, when the 39 Articles of our Religion were composed, and *such* as they needed not to be *ashamed* to own in future times, nor the *best* refuse to associat the rest, for the *illegalitie* of their election; for if there be any *scandalous* Governours, (as we deny not but there may be a *Cham* in the Arke, a *Judas* amongst the Apostles, and perhaps an unjustifiable Prelate among the Bishops, as there was a *proud Lucifer* among the Angels) or if they thinke it *necessary* to correct, qualifie, explain, or alter some *expressions* or *ceremonies* in our Liturgie, and Book of Common Prayer, we are so farre from *giving* the least offence to *weak* consciences, that we heartily wish a lawfull Synod, which may have a *full* legall power, as well to remove the *offences*, as to punish the *offenders*, and to establish *such* Lawes and Canons, as well against *Separatists* and Schismatickes, *Anabaptists* and Brownists, as against *Recusants* and Papists, and such as may be for the *glorie* of God, and the *peace* of our Church; which was our sole intention in the last Synod.

What Synod they should have chosen.

But seeing their *plot* was rather to establish a *new* Church than to redresse the *defects* of the old, and to countenance and

advance those *boute-fues* that schismatically *rent* our Church in pieces, and most wickedly defile the *pure* Doctrine of the same, by degrading and displacing the *grave* Governours thereof, I will (to give you a *taste* of what *fruit* you are like to reape from them) very *briefly* set down the sum of these two points.

Two points handled.
1. What they have already done in the affaires of our Church.
1 *Cor.* 5. 5.
1 *Tim.* 1. 20.
1. Opened a gap to all licentiousnesse.

1. What they have *already* done,
2. What *discipline* and *doctrine* are like to ensue, if they should be enabled or permitted to erect their *new* Church; for, (as you may finde it in the *Remonstrance* of the Commons of *England* to the House of Commons,)

1: Under colour of *regulating* the Ecclesiasticall Courts, (Courts that have been founded by the Apostles, and had alwayes their *Authoritie* and reverence among Christians, even before the *Secular* power (when the Emperours became Christians) had confirmed them) they have taken away (in respect of the *coercive* part thereof, which is the *life* of the Law, and without which the *other* part is fruitlesse) all the *Spirituall* jurisdiction of Gods Church; they have taken away *Aarons* rod, and would have only *Manna* left in Gods Ark, so that now the *crimes* inquirable and censurable by those Courts, though never so *heinous*, as adulterie, incest, and the like, cannot be *punished*; heresies and schismes, which now of late have abounded in all places, can no wayes be *reformed*, and the neglect of Gods service can as hardly be *repaired*, when as the *Ministers* cannot be enforced to attend their Cures, the *Church-officers* cannot be compelled to performe their dutie, and the *Parishioners* cannot be brought by *our* Law to pay their Tythes and other necessarie Duties; which things are all so *considerable* that all Christians ought to fear how *lamentable* will be the *end* of these sad beginnings; for my selfe have seene the *House* of God most unchristianly prophaned, the *Church-yard* and the *dead* bodies of the Saints so rooted and miserably abused by hogges and swine, that it would grieve *meer* men, that scarce ever heard of God, to see such a *barbarous* usage of any *holy* place; and when the *Ministers* have given a sevennights warning to prepare for the blessed *Eucharist*, and the *Communicants* came

came to partake of thoſe *holy* myſteries, they were fain to returne home without it, for want of *Bread* and *Wine* to adminiſter it; and yet now the Church *Governours* have not *any* power to redreſſe any of theſe *abominable* abuſes.

2. Under ſhew of reforming the Church *diſcipline*, and bettering the Government thereof, they have voted down thoſe very *Governours*, the *Biſhops* and their Aſſiſtants, the *Deanes* and *Chapters*, whoſe function was conſtituted by the *Apoſtles*, and hath from that time continued to this *very* day, as the moſt learned Archbiſhop of *Armach*, Biſhop *Hall*, Maſter *Maſon*, Maſter *Tayler*, and that worthy Gentleman Maſter *Theyer*, and others have ſufficiently ſhewed to all the world. 2. Voted down all the governours of Gods Church.

3. Under the pretence of expunging *Poperie*, which Biſhop *Jewell*, Biſhop *Parry*, Biſhop *Babington*, Biſhop *Bilſon*, Biſhop *Morton*, Biſhop *Davenant*, Biſhop *Hall*, and abundance more of the *Reverend* Biſhops have confuted, expelled and kept out of our Church, more than *any*, yea than *all* their ſchiſmatical Diſciples, whoſe *Learning* was no wayes able to anſwer the *weakeſt* Arguments of our Adverſaries, the *Service* Book that is eſtabliſhed by *Act* of Parliament, and was by thoſe *holy* Martyrs, that loſt their *lives*, and ſpilt their blood in defence of the *Proteſtant* Religion, and defiance of *erroneous* Poperie, ſo *divinely* and devoutly compoſed, as all the *Reformation* can bear witneſſe, and I am well aſſured, the whole *flock* of theſe Convocants ſhall never be able, without this, to make any neer ſo pious, muſt be *totally* cried down, and hath been in *many* places, burned, uſed to the uneleaneſt uſes, and teared all to pieces; and to let you ſee their *abomination* herein, I muſt crave patience to tranſcribe, that it may the more *generally* paſſe, the Speech of Alderman *Garroway*, where he ſaith, *pag.*7. Did not my Lord Maior (that is, *Pennington*) firſt enter upon his Office with a *Speech* againſt the Book of *Common Prayer*? Hath the Common Prayer *ever* been read before him? Hath not Captain *Ven* ſaid, that his Wife could make prayers worth *three* of any in that Book? O Maſters, there have been times, that he which ſhould ſpeak againſt the Book of *Common Prayer* in this Citie, ſhould not have been put to the patience of a *Legall triall*; 3. Vilified our Service-book. Alderman *Garroway*, *pag.*7.

we were wont to look upon it as the *greateſt* treaſure, and the *Jewell* of our Religion; and he that ſhould have told us, he wiſhed *well* to our Religion, and yet would have taken away the Book of *Common Prayer* would never have gotten credit. I have been in all the parts of *Chriſtendome*, and have converſed with *Chriſtians* in *Turkey*; why, in all the reformed Churches there is not *any* thing of more reverence than the *Engliſh* Liturgie, not our *royall* Exchange, nor the Navie of Queen *Elizabeth*, is ſo famous as this; in *Geneva* it ſelfe, I have heard it extolled to the skies. I have been three moneths *together* by ſea, and not a day without hearing it read twice; the honeſt *Mariners* then deſpiſed all the world but the *King* and the *Common Prayer* Book; he that ſhould be ſuſpected to wiſh ill to *either* of them, ſhould have made but an *ill* voyage; and let me tell you, they are ſhrewd youthes, thoſe Sea-men; if they once diſcerne that the perſon of the *King* is in danger, or the *Proteſtant* profeſſed Religion, they will ſhew themſelves *mad* bodies before you are aware of it; I would not be a *Browniſt* or an *Anabaptiſt* in their way for——And yet, theſe men have ſo *baſely* abuſed, and are ſo *violent* to aboliſh this excellent Book and divine Liturgie, that *Many will not believe it though it ſhould be told unto them*: I would they did but reade that *Act* of Parliament which is prefixed unto the ſame, to ſee if they regarded either the Law of *God* or *Man*, the *Religion* of the Clergie that compoſed it, or the *wiſedome* of the Parliament that confirmed it.

How the Mariners eſteeme the Liturgie.

Hab. 1:5.

4. Abuſed the images and pictures of the Saints and other holy things.

4. Under colour to ſhew their hatred to *Idolatrie*, they have broken down the glaſſe *Windowes* of many Churches; ſhot off the heads of the *Images* of the *bleſſed* Virgin, and of our *dear* Saviour repreſented in her lap upon the porch of Saint *Maries* in *Oxford*; thrown away the *Pictures* of Chriſt, and of others his *holy* Apoſtles, and Gods *bleſſed* Saints into the Rivers; taken the Miniſters *Surplices* to make *Frockes* to preſerve their cloathes when they dreſſed their horſes; and in *Worceſter* they have done what I am aſhamed to ſpeak, and would loathe any modeſt ear to hear, made the *Pulpit*, and (not farre from the Town) the *Font* their houſe of office, as I was informed

formed by one of the *graveſt* Doctours and Prebends of that Church; thrown down the *Organs*, which coſt above fifteen hundred pounds, and taken the Pipes and Copes of the Prebends, and gone round about the Streets, with the Copes on their backes, and the Pipes in their hands, dancing the Moris dance; ſo in *Winſcombe* in *Gloceſter* ſhire, they brake down the *Organs*, and made that Church their *Slaughter* houſe, when they *killed* certain Sheep that they had ſtolen, and dreſſed the ſame upon the *Communion* table; and in *Lincolne* Minſter the Souldiers brought their horſes into the Quire, laid their hay upon the *holy Table*, and made the Houſe of God a *Stable* for their horſes, that did now eat their *hay* where the Chriſtians did uſe to communicate the *Bodie* and *Blood* of Chriſt; ſo that *theſe* men give their Saviour no *better* entertainment now in his *glorie*, than the *Jewes* did when he came in his *humilitie*, but he ſhall be ſtill kept low, and a *Stable* ſhall be good enough for his *Manſion*; yet, as in *Canterburie* they did but little leſſe, ſo in *Wincheſter* they added this to their former prophanations, to take the aſhes of thoſe *Saxon* Kings, that were kept in certain Urnes, and threw them about the ground, as if death it ſelfe could not appeaſe their rage. *Luke* 2. 7.

Scævaſed in manes manibus arma dabant,

It would fill a whole volume to relate all the *villanies* that they did of this kinde, the conſideration of which *prophane* uſage of *holy* places, made a worthy Gentleman *pathetically* to ſet down theſe fervent ſpeeches; I would to God we had not cauſe to complain of the *horrid* and barbarous attempts of diverſ among us (Chriſtians I can ſcarce call them) againſt ſome the mother Churches, * who as if they had *ſtudied* to affront the Almightie to his face, and *purpoſely* with *Manaſſes* to anger him, have not ſpared to *prophane* thoſe goodly ſtructures, and *irreligiouſly* and Antichriſtianlike to deface the *inſtruments* there prepared and imployed in the ſervice of the *great* God: at the very thought whereof I *tremble* and ſtand amazed, and can hardly believe the Chriſtian world in *any* age (no not under the *Gothes* and *Vandales*) can parallel it with an example of *like* abominable and atheiſticall villanies, yet to this day unenſured:

* *Canterbury*, *Worceſter*, *Wincheſter*, *Gloceſter*, *Chicheſter*, and many others.

Maſter *Theyer* in his Treatiſe of Epiſcopacie, *p.* 56. 57.

sured: and I am *heartily* sorry that it should be told in *Gath* or *Ascalon*, in any *forraigne* Nation, that our *English* People should have any such Sect amongst them, so void of all *humanitie*, so destitute of all thoughts of a *Deitie*, and so full of all incredible *impieties*. And therefore I must use the words of the Prophet *Jeremie*, *Shall I not visit for these things, saith the Lord? or, shall not my soule be avenged on such a Nation as this?* or, is it any wonder, that there are such *Warres*, such bloody Warres, such *barbarous* rapines, and that these miseries do still *continue* amongst us, when we not onely *proceed* to *commit*, but also to *defend* and justifie these and the like *abominable* wickednesse, and have pleasure in them that doe them? for *it is a fearfull thing to fall into the hands of the living God.*

Ier. 5. 9. 29.

Rom. 1. 32. Heb. 10. 31.

5. Branded the true Protestants, and advanced Anabaptists.

5. Under the colour of advancing the true *Protestant* Religion, they have *branded* the best Protestants, (even those that have most *learnedly*, both preached and written against the Church of *Rome*, and all her *erroneous* tenets, and were not long since registred in the *classe* of Puritanes, and for *that* cause kept under water) for *Papists*, and superstitiously Popish, and so *Malignants* and opposers of the true *to be established Religion*; and they have *encouraged* and promoted to the *Livings* and Livelihoods of the most *Orthodox* and Canonicall men. *Anabaptists* and *Brownists*, and other Sectaries of most desperate opinions, that (as Saint *Bernard* saith of the like, *Multiplicati sunt super numerum*;) as the Caterpillers overspread all the Land of *Egypt*, so these are multiplied in *every* corner, without number; and these *tares* have almost choaked all the Wheat in Gods field, and do preach most *desperate* Doctrines, destructive both to themselves, their proselytes, and all the *truest* Protestants throughout all this Kingdom; when as *Sedition* and rebellion, besides their other *damnable* Doctrines condemned by the Church, must ever be at *one* end of their Sermons, and published in their Pamphlets; as for instance, you may finde in the *bloody* bookes and *firie* writings of the *darling* Secretaries of the red Dragon, that warreth against the Saints, *Stephen Marshall*, Master *Bridges*, *Jo. Goodwin*, *Burroughes*, and the rest of the *Locusts*,* that are sent out of the bottomlesse pit to seduce

* *Quaglomerantur in unum innumerapestes Erebi*, Claud.

ſeduce the People of God, and to lead them headlong unto perdition.

But let me adviſe the *Servants* of Chriſt, to remember their Saviours words, *To beware of falſe Prophets*; they ſhall deceive *many*, and many *love* to be deceived by them; thoſe whom God hath given up, *That they ſhould believe a lye*; *Qui infatuati ſeducuntur, & ſeducti judicabuntur*; but you that deſire to eſcape their ſnares may *know them by their fruits*; which are *Rebellion* againſt their King, and *rayling* againſt their Governours, *Perjurie* againſt God, by the breaches of thoſe *Oathes*, which in the face of the Church they have taken, both to the *King* and to their *Superiours*, and a *wilfull* perverting of the *ſacred* Scriptures, to the perdition of their Proſelytes; beſides, many other *bitter* fruites, that worſe than any *Aconite* are able to poyſon any Chriſtian ſoul, that do but *taſte* of their *Philtra's*: or if you will believe theſe Apples of *Sodom*, to be as *ſweet* as they ſeem *fair*, then remember by what *markes* the *Prophets* and *Apoſtles* tell us that we may know them; 1. *Such as run before they be ſent*, as Weavers, Tailors, and the like, that never had any *calling* or Authoritie to enter upon this *ſacred* Function. 2. They *went from us, but are not of us*; ſuch as were *called*, but then *forſook* their *firſt love*, and apoſtated from the Church, and like *ungracious* children did throw dirt in their mothers face, or like the *brood* of Vipers do labour to gnaw out her bowels; and here let the *world* judge, whether *we* went from them, or *they* from us; whether we or they apoſtated from that *Oath* and profeſſion which all and every one of us did make when we entered into holy Orders.

Matth. 7. 15.

2 *Theſſ.* 2. 10.

The Authours advice.

Three notes by which we may know the falſe Apoſtles.

1. Note. *Jer.* 23. 21.

2. Note. 1 *Iohn* 2. 19.

3. Theſe *falſe* Prophets, ſaith the *Apoſtle*, do *lead ſimple* or ſilly *women captives*; juſt as their Maſter firſt ſeduced *Eve* and ſhe *Adam*, ſo do theſe; and becauſe they have *leſſe* worth than can attain to the *height* of their ambition, you may ſee *moſt* of them by *women* raiſed to *great* fortunes, and their *pride* diſdaineth to be obedient; or if they fail of *ſuch* wives, yet are they ſwelled with *envie*, which is as rebellious in theſe, as pride is in the other.

3. Note. 2 *Tim.* 3 6. *Gen.* 3. 1. 6.

6. Under the pretence of making our Clergie more *ſpiritu-*

6. Ordered to take away all the revenues of the most worthy Clergie.

all and Apostolike, they have voted away most of our *temporall* estate, the *Lands* and Lordships of the Bishops, Deanes, and Prebends, and the *Pluralities* of those persons that possessed double Benefices, and made their *Order* that no man should pay any *rent* or any *dues* unto any of the fore-named persons. And by this taking away the *free-hold* of the Clergie now in present, (which they hold with as *good* right, and by the *same* Law as the best Lord in *England* holdeth his Inheritance) and this discouragement of Learning for the time to come, they thought to make our Clergie *Angelicall*, but have proved themselves, I will not say, *diabolicall*, but most *injurious* unto the Church of Christ, by committing an *Act* of as great *injustice*, and as prejudiciall to the Common-wealth, as can be found among the Pagans; for what can be more *unjust*, or more inhumane, than to take away my *Livelihood*, which is my very life, in mine old age, without any *offence* of mine, for which I had laboured all the dayes of my life? And what *consequence* can this produce, than (that which succeeded in the like case, in *Jeroboams* time, when he robbed the *Priests* and *Levites* of their inheritance) *ignorance* and barbaritie, and the *basest* of the people to be the Preachers of Gods Word, whereby *the blinde do leade the blinde*, untill both do fall into the ditch; as I can testifie, some of our *greatest* Nobilitie intended to make their sonnes *Priests* and *Bishops*, while the *glorie* of *Israel*, and the *beautie* of our Church remained *un-obscured*, and now *contempt* and povertie being enacted and ordered to be their *portion*, those resolutions are vanished, and the *Universities* can bear me witnesse, the *lowest* Gentrie are not so *well* contented to undertake this highest calling. These and many other things *ejusdem farinæ*, of the same mold they have already done, to *overwhelme* the ship of Christ under the waves of this turbulent faction. And these *prophanations* of Gods divine Service, and the *violations* of the Sepulchers of the dead (whose ashes and bones, like *canes sepulchrales*, they have disturbed in their *graves*) and those unheard of *sacriledges* on Gods Priests and portion and are so *equally* practiced, that it is almost hard to judge which are *greater*, either their *impietie* towards God, their *inhumanity* towards the dead, or their *injustice* towards the living.

Sublatis studiorum præmiis ipsa studia pereunt, C. Tacit. 1 *Reg.* 12. 31. *Matth.* 15. 14.

CHAP. VIII.

Sheweth what discipline or Church-government our factious Schismatickes do like best, and twelve principall points of Doctrine, which they hold as twelve Articles of their faith, and we must all believe the same or suffer, if this faction should prevail.

2. FOr the *discipline* and the *doctrine* that they would establish, they have not yet, and I believe they can never *fully* agree what they shall be; their desire is first to overthrow the *old*, and then they will take care and consult how to devise a *new*; but I could wish they would let the old alone till they could agree to produce a better.

2. What discipline and doctrine the new Synod is like to set up.

Yet, because their *blinde* zeal is so *violent*, to have their own unjust desires, to destroy the vineyard of Christ *root* and *branch*, I, that have served seven yeeres, a Lecturer, among them, in the heart of *London*, and was conversant with the *purest* of these *holy* brethren, and thereby understood *most* of their *Anabaptisticall* and ridiculous tenets, and what *discipline* they best liked, will here draw you a *modell* of their *Utopian* or new *England* Church, which they would transport hither to obscure the glorie of old *England*.

1. For their *discipline* and government, some would have the *Scotish* Synods, and that forme of Government, which old furious *Knoxe* hath first brought among them, and is *fully* described by that Reverend Archbishop *Bancrofte*; otherr like better of the *Geneva* Assemblies, instituted by Master *Calvin*, and continued by *Theodore Beza*, two worthy members of that Church, or the discipline of the *Hugonots* in the new French Reformation, which differeth but a little from the other; but most of them like better of the manner of *Amsterdam*, where *every* Church is independent, and every *Pastour* is a Pope in his own Parish; and to that purpose, you may remember how *vehemently* they have lately most *foolishly* written* for this *independent*

1. Their discipline.

Bancroft in his English Scottizinge.

* As *Smith*, *Best*, *Davenport*, *Canne*, *Robinson*, and M. *Childley*, and many other *anonymi*.

pendant Government, and how the Lord *Say* and the Lord *Brookes*, two leading Captaines of that faction, have often protested they would *dispense* with all sorts of Religions so they might *freely* exercise their own; and that such a *toleration* ought to be granted, to all others; because their *independencie* cannot otherwise consist; for he that is accountable to *none*, will use what Religion he *pleaseth* without controule; and therefore they support their *own* Armie by men of *all* Nations and Religions, not their *grand* Adversaries the *Papists* excepted, but of fifty or sixty Souldiers that billeted in *Adthrop* there were no lesse than three or four *Papists* amongst them.

Sober Sadnesse, p. 22.

How unsuitable their government would be to our Genius.

But how *unsuteable* these Governments would prove to stand with our *English* Nobilitie, and Gentrie, (besides the *noveltie* of them, and how farre *dissonant* they are to the *Apostolike* discipline) I will appeal to their own judgement, when *every* undiscreet Parson and poor Vicar shall be able, upon every *discontent* to excommunicate the *best* man in his Parish, and as we have seen *some* of them debarring whom they pleased from the *holy* Table, because their *great* anger, or *little* judgement conceived them to be unworthie. When as the *Church* deemed it fitter that *none* of her children should undergo the *least* indignitie for any *personall* distaste, but upon *due* examination of witnesses, a *full* hearing, and a *just* censure in open Court; which course if it be neglected, should be rather punished in the *offenders*, than the *discipline* dissolved, the *Governours* removed, and a new fantasticall fancie erected.

2. The Doctrines of the faction that are like to be settled by the new Synod.

2. For the Doctrines of these men, they are like the poeticall fiction of those sisters *forma non omnibus una, nec diversa tamen*; I did once intend, while I lived amongst them to collect a whole Volume of them; but Satan then prevented me, and plotted my *destruction* for mine intention: yet now, I will set down these few, out of *those* many, which I then observed.

3. They search into Gods secrets. *Deut. 29. 29.*

1. Though *Moses* saith, *The secret things belong to the Lord our God, but the things revealed belong to us and our children for ever*: yet these men are all *gnostiques*, they know *very* much, even of the *secrets* and counsels of God, and they are *sure*

sure who shall be saved, and who shall be damned; and as men of the *cabinet* counsell of God, they broach their *illusions* for divine revelations, and perswade the People that what they *say* or *do* is all from God; and therefore that this War which they prosecute, was *preordained* of God for the destruction of the wicked, to whom they *formerly* preached their damnation, and thereby have caused many *silly* soules most desperately to end the miseries of their *wretched* life, by putting themselves to an *untimely* death.

2. They onely, as the *elect* of God (which shall be the sole heires of heaven) are the Lords *Proprietories* of all this worldly wealth, and the *reprobates* being enemies unto God, have *no* right unto any of Gods creatures; and therefore they thinke they may *lawfully* take away the goods of those reprobates, whom now they call *Malignants*, and they have as *good* warrant for it, as ever the *Israelites* had to spoil the *Egyptians*; for they tell us, that Saint *Paul*, which knew right from wrong, tels them plainly, that *whether they be things present, or things to come, even all are yours, and ye Christs, and Christ Gods*; but they understand not that men have a *double* right unto these worldly *goods*. 1. As *Christians*, and so God as a *mercifull* Father, hath provided all things for them. 2. As the *Creatures* of God; and so God as a *faithfull* Creatour, *openeth his hand, and filleth all things living with plenteousnesse*; and maketh his Sun, *to shine upon the just and upon the unjust*; and so the wicked have as *good* an interest in their estates as the godly; and besides, God hath not given them the power to distinguish who are the *elect*, or who are *reprobates*.

2. They judge themselves only the elect.

1 *Cor.* 3.22,23.

That there is a double right to the things of this world.

Psal. 104.28.

Matth. 5.45.

And therefore, if we have any *regard* of our goods, that God hath given us, we have great reason to look about us; for these are the greatest *Cheaters* in *Christendome*, and as they have made us *Malignants*, so they will make us *reprobates* when they please, that they may enjoy those things that we have.

3. Because *Balaam* saith, *God beheld no iniquitie in Jacob*; and the Apostle saith, *To the pure all things are pure*: they teach their proselytes, that in them, which are the *holy* Bre-

3. They thinke themselves free from all sin.

Numb. 23.21.

Tit. 1.15.

thren, there is no sin, and their adulterie, drunkennesse, cozenage, and the like *odious* crimes are no crimes, because God loving them so *tenderly*, as a *fond* mother seeth no fault in her untoward childe, so he takes no notice of any offence that they commit; but for the ungodly, their *Prayers* are sinnes, their *Almes* are odious, and whatsoever commendable dutie they do performe, God accounteth their *best* actions to be *heinous* trangressions, and to adde the more weight of punishment to their damnation; which Doctrine how *abominable* it is to God, and how destructive to all men, to make these *holy* Brethre and their sanctified Sisters senslesse in all sinnes, uncapable of repentance, when *the whole hath no need of the Physician*; and to discourage all other *ignorant* men from doing good duties, when the performance of them shall multiplie their stripes, is so apparent to all men, that I need not stand to confute it; for, if *Coniah (though he wear the signet upon my right hand*; or, as the apple of mine eye) doth offend, I will cut him off; and *if the wicked forsake his wickednesse*, and do that which is just, love mercie, and speak truth, he shall be accepted, and the Lord will not call *light* darknesse, nor *good* evill in any one.

To the unbelieving nothing is pure. *Tit.* 1.15.

Matth. 9.12.

Ier. 22.24.

Ezech. 33.15.

4. They allow the women to offend while their husbands sleep. *Ioh* 11.11. 1 *Cor.* 7.39.

4. Because our Saviour saith, *Our friend Lazarus sleepeth*; when as indeed he was *dead*, and the Heathens say, Sleep is ἀδελφος θανάτου, the brother of death, they take this *colour* to hide their adulteries, that while the husband *sleepeth*, the wife is as free from him as if he were dead, a foolerie so ridiculous that the *naming* of it is a sufficient confutation of it, and yet you shall hardly withdraw our *London Anabaptists* from it.

5. They justifie many kindes of lyes and equivocations. *Gen.* 12.13. *Acts* 23.5.

5. Because *Abraham* said that *Sara* was his sister, and Saint *Paul* said, *I wist not brethren that he was the high Priest*: they hold it as an Article of their Creed, that for *officious* lyes and *equivocations*, being for the furtherance of their cause, the *good* worke which they pretend, they may and ought to use them, to swallow them down like water, they make no bones of them; and therefore it is dangerous to *treat*, and weaknesse to give *credit*, without sufficient pledges, to the *faith* of these men; whose *profession* may as lawfully deceive us, as their *Religion* teacheth them to destroy us, and I believe the *experience* which

his

his Majesties Officers had of them in the performance of their promises and conditions of departure from *Winchester*, *Reading*, and *other* Townes surrendered unto them may *sufficiently* confirme this *equivocall* point of their Publique Faith.

6. Because the Lord straitly charged the *Israelites* to *root* out the wicked *Canaanites* and the rest of those *cursed* Nations, and translated the Kingdom of *Israel* from *Saul* unto *David*, because he spared *Agag*: and our Saviour bids us, *succidere ficum*, to cut down that *unprofitable* tree which bare no fruit, they are so filled with such *unmercifull* crueltie towards all those they terme wicked, and judge Malignants, that they had better fall into the hands of *heathen* Tyrants, than of these their holy brethren, who embruing their hands in the blood of so *many* faithfull Christians, do sing with the Psalmist, *The righteous rejoyce when they see this vengeance, they shall wash their feet in the blood of the ungodly*: for as *Solomon* saith, The tender *mercies of the wicked are* meer *cruelties*. And I believe the *first* inventers of that Designe to *root* out all the Papists in *Ireland*, and to get that *Act* to purchase all the *Lands* of the Rebels, had tasted too much of this *bitter* root of such destructive Doctrine; whereby you see how the *Religion* of these men robbes us of our *Estates*, keepes no *faith* with us, and takes away our *lives*.

6. They would root out all those that they terme wicked. *Deut.* 7. 2. 1 *Sam.* 15. 23. *Psal.* 58. 8. *Prov.* 12. 10.

7. Though among the *workes* of God, every flower cannot be a *Lillie*, every beast cannot be a *Lion*, every bird cannot be an *Eagle*, and every Planet cannot be *Phœbus*; yet in the *School* of these men, this is the Doctrine of their *to be new erected Church*, that with God *there is no respect of persons*, and neither *Circumcision availeth any thing*, *nor uncircumcision*; but whether they be *bond* or *free*, masters or servants, *Jew*, or *Gentile*, *Barbarian*, *Scythian*, a countrey Clown, or a Court Gallant, rich or poor; it is all one with God; because these *Titles of Honour*, Kings, Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen are no *entities* of Gods making, but the creatures of *mans* invention, to puffe him up with pride, and not to bring him unto God; and therefore though for the bringing of their *great* good worke to passe, they are *yet* contented to make the Earle of

7. They would have a partie among all men both in Church and Common wealth. *Gal.* 5. 6. *Col.* 3 11.

Essex

Eſſex their Generall, and *Warwicke* their Admirall, and ſo *Pym* and *Hampden* great Officers of State; yet, when the *worke* is done, their *Plot* perfected, and their *Government* eſtabliſhed, then you ſhall finde, that as *now*, they will eradicate *Epiſcopacie*, and make *all* our Clergie equall, as if *all* had equally but *one* talent, and no man *worthier* than another; ſo *then* there ſhould be neither *King*, *Lord*, *Knight*, nor Gentleman, but a *paritie* of degrees among all theſe *holy* Brethren; and to give us a taſte of what they mean: as the *Lords* concurrence with them inabled them to devour the *Kings* power; ſo they have ſince, with great juſtice, prevailed with the Houſe of *Commons* to ſwallow up the Lords power, and have moſt fairly invaded their priviledge, when they queſtioned particular Members * for words ſpoken in that Houſe, and then the *whole* Houſe, when they brought up and countenanced a mutinous and ſeditious Petition, which demanded the *Names* of thoſe Lords, that conſented not with the Houſe of *Commons* in thoſe things, which that Houſe had twice denied.

* As my Lord *Duke*, and my Lord *Digbie*.

8. Becauſe our Saviour ſaith, *Seek ye firſt the Kingdom of of Heaven and the righteouſneſſe thereof, and all theſe things*, that is meat, and drinke, and clothes, and all other earthly things, προστεθήσεται ὑμῖν, *ſhall be caſt unto you*; and again, *Be not carefull for to morrow*; they teach their proſelytes, that they ought not to pray, by any meanes, for any of *theſe* things; whereas Chriſt biddeth us to ſay, *Give us this day our daily Bread.*

8 They would have no man to pray for temporall things. *Mat.6.33.34. Matth.6.11.*

9. They cannot endure to ſay the *Lords Prayer*, for that's a *Popiſh* ſuperſtition, but their Prayers muſt be all *tautologies*, and a circular repetition of their own indigeſted inventions.

9. Not to ſay the Lords Prayer.

10. You muſt not ſay, *God ſpeed you*, to any neighbour or any traveller, leſt he intends ſome evill worke, and then you ſhall be partaker of his ſin.

10. Not to ſay, God ſpeed you, *2 Iohn 10.11.*

11. They will not allow any of their Diſciples to pray for any of the *Reprobates*; and therefore they do exceedingly blame us, and tear our Liturgie, becauſe we ſay, *That it may pleaſe thee to have mercie upon all men.*

11. Not to pray for the Malignants. *1 Iohn 5.16.*

12. Becauſe Chriſt ſaith, *Call no man father on earth,*

for

for one is your Father which is in Heaven: the childe muſt not call him that *begat* him and *nurſeth* him his father, nor *kneel* unto him to aske him bleſſing, nor performe many other *ſuch* duties which the Lord requireth, and the Church *inſtructeth* her children to do to this very day; and this *fooliſh* Doctrine of calling no man *father*, no man *maſter*, or Lord and the like, in their ſenſe, (becauſe they underſtand not the *divine* meaning of our Saviours word) hath been the cauſe of ſuch undutifulneſſe and untowardneſſe, ſuch *contempts* of ſuperiours, and ſuch *rebellions* to Authoritie as is beyond expreſſion; when as by their diſloyaltie, being thus bred in them from their cradle, they firſt deſpiſe their *father*, then their *Teachers*, then their *King*, and then *God* himſelfe.

CHAP: IX.

Sheweth three other ſpeciall points of Doctrine, which the Brownists and Anabaptiſts of this Kingdom do teach.

13. BEcauſe they can finde no Text in Scripture, when as the *Alcoran* is not ſo impudently helliſh, as to juſtifie the *action*, for to warrant men, to *abſolve* our conſciences from any *Oathes* that we have voluntarily taken, for the performance of any buſineſſe, I cannot ſay that they do *profeſſedly* teach, but I do hear they do *uſually* practice this moſt damnable ſin; as that Maſter *Marſhall* and Maſter *Caſe* did *abſolve* the Souldiers taken at *Braynceford* from their *Oath*, which they took, never to bear Armes againſt his Majeſtie; which is a ſin deſtructive both to bodie and ſoul, when their *Perjurie* added to their *Treaſon*, makes them *twofold more the children of hell than they were before*, and if they be taken again, they can expect nothing but their juſt deſerved *death*; and therefore I do admire that any man can challenge the name of a *Divine*, which doth either preach or practice a point ſo *deviliſh*.

14. Becauſe Saint *Paul* ſaith, *Theſe hands have miniſtred to*

14. They thinke sacriledge to be no sin.
Acts 20 34.
1 *Thess.* 2. 9.
1 *Cor.* 1, 12.

my necessities and to them that were with me: and again, *Labouring night and day, because we would not be chargeable to any of you, we preached unto you the Gospel of God*: and because the rest of the Apostles and Disciples were Fishermen, Trades-men, or professours of some Science, either liberall or mechanicke, as Saint *Luke* was a *Physician*, *Joseph* a Carpenter, and the like, who did live by their *manuall* crafts, and were chargeable to none of their people, but sought *them*, and not theirs, to win their soules to God, and not their *monies* unto themselves; therefore they thinke it no robberie to take away all the revenues of the Church, nor *sacriledge* to rob the Clergie of all the meanes they have; because they should either *labour* for their livings, as the Apostles did, or live upon the peoples *Almes*, as many poor Ministers do, to the utter *undoing* of many soules, in many distressed and most miserable Churches.

But because this revenue of the Church and the Lands of the Bishops is that *golden* wedge, and the brave *Babylonish* garment, which the Anabaptistical *Achans* of our time do most of all *thirst* after, in this their pretended *holy* Reformation, I must here *sistere gradum*, stay a while and let you know:

1. Sacriledge what it is.

1. That the taking away of any Lands or goods given and consecrated to *holy uses*, and to convert the same to any other *purpose* than which they were dedicated, is termed *sacriledge*; that is, the stealing of holy goods from the right owners, to our selves and others to whom we leave them.

2. That is a sin.

2. That this *sacriledge* is a sin; for *it is a snare to the man, who devoureth that which is holy, and after vowes to make inquirie*; that is, whether such a service be needfull, or such a taking away be a sin.

3. A great sin.

3. That this sin is a very *great* sin; for Saint *Paul* saith, *Thou that abhorrest idols, committest thou sacriledge?* And *idolatrie* is the giving of our goods and service to false gods, *sacriledge* the taking away of goods dedicated to the service of any God, especially of the true God; and this seemeth by the Apostles words to be a *greater* sin than the other; because the devill laboureth more to take away the service of the true God than to establish his own service; for he knoweth that as

light

light taken away, *darkness* must needs follow, so the *true* Religion being destroyed, *idolatrie* must needs succeed; and he knoweth that *idolatrie* hath been *bountifull* enough to the service of idols, that he needeth not so much to *fear* the taking away of their goods, as to *care* that the goods dedicated to Gods service be taken away. *Hosea* 2.8. *Ezech.* 16. 1 *Reg.* 18.19. *Gen.* 22.

4. That this sin is a very *dangerous* sin, both to { 1. The *Persons* that cómit it. 2. To the *Common-wealth* that suffers it; for, } 4. A most dangerous sin. *Iosh.* 7. *Acts* 5.4.

1. Not onely *Achan*, *Ananias* and *Sapphira*, and other *private* men perished for this sin, but the *proudest* Kings, and greatest *Peeres* that became sacrilegious, were plagued and destroyed by God; as *Belshazzar*, the great Monarch of *Assyria*; *William Rufus*, and abundance more that you may finde in our Histories; for the *curse* of God, like *Damocles* sword, by a slender thred hangs over their heads, and makes them like those that *perished at Endor, and became as the dung of the earth*; and I beseech you marke it, *Make them like a wheel, and as the stubble before the winde, persecute them with thy tempest, let them be confounded, and be put to shame, and perish, which say, let us take to our selves the houses of God in possession*; and if this be the guerdon of them that *say* it, I wonder what shall be the plague of them that *do* it; and I wonder *more* that the very *thought* of this curse doth not make their *hearts* to tremble, if their consciences were not *seared* to be senslesse of all fear. 1. To the sacrilegers.

2. The sin of *sacriledge* extendeth it selfe not onely to the *persons* committing it, but also to the *whole* Nation that sufferreth it, as the sin of *Achan* was not onely a snare to catch *him* to be destroyed, but it troubled *all Israel*, so that they were *still* discomfited, and *never* prospered, till the *sacriledger* was punished, and the Lord appeased. 2. To whole Nations.

If you say the *sin* is taken away, when the *Parliament* takes these things away.

I answer, that we must not *idolize* the Parliament, as if it were a kinde of *omnipotent* Creature, and like the Pope, such an *infallible* Lord God upon earth, as that their *Votes* and San-

ctions were the *supremest* rule of justice, that cannot be *unjust*, because they are enacted by the *whole* State; because as no conclusions are *therefore* truths because determined by a *whole* Counsell, so no Lawes are *therefore* just, because done by a *whole* Parliament, but when they do agree with the *common* rules of truth and justice, which God hath given unto men, and shewed the same in his *holy* Word, which he hath left to be the *right* rule of our actions.

And therefore if the *greatest* Assemblies, Parliament, or Counsell, make not the *will* of God the *rule* to guide their proceedings thereby, their Sanctions are so farre from taking away the *nature* of the sin, that they do *increase* the evill, and make it the *more* out of measure sinfull, and to become a *nationall* sin, that before was but *personall*, and the more *exceedingly* sinfull, when the same is confirmed by a *Law*, so that *none* dares speak against it, and the sinners are become *senslesse* in their sinnes: and therefore the Prophet demandeth, how any man, that feareth God, dares *meddle* with such a people, that will thus justifie their sinnes, saying, *Shall the throne of iniquitie*, that is, any unjust course, *have fellowship with thee, which frameth mischief by a Law?* And the Lord doth *extremely* threaten them, that walke after *unrighteous* ordinances, as that they should *sow much, but not reap*; *tread the olives, but not anoint themselves therewith, and sweet wine, but not drinke it*, because the *statutes of Omri are kept*, and all the workes of the house of *Achab*, and *they walked in their counsels*: and the Prophet *Hosea* doth more *fully* set down the *wrath* of God both against the *makers* and the *observers* of all unrighteous Lawes.

Mich 6 15,16
Hos. 5. 10. 11.

Obje. If you say, the *Lands* and Lordships of the *Bishops* were not the patrimonie of the Church, but were onely, in superstitious times, given by our Kings and others unto the Churchmen; and therefore now, the King being in want, they may be restored to the Crown again.

Sol. I confesse the Lands of the Church are the *free* bequests of godly Kings, and of other pious men dead long ago, with most *fearfull* imprecations made against all those that should seek to *alter* their Wils and Testaments: and the Apostle saith, *If it be*

be but a mans Testament, no man altereth it; that is, no honest man ought to alter it, though perhaps his Will might have been made wiser, and his goods bestowed to *better* use; for our Saviours *maxime*, when he gave a Penny to him that laboured but *one* hour, and but a Penny to him that had endured the *heat* of the day, is unanswerable, *Is it not lawfull for me to do what I will with mine own?* and therefore, Gal. 3. 15.

1. As others daily leave their estates of great amount to whom they please, many times to *strangers*, & perhaps to idiots or debauched persons, of wicked lives and noxious manners; and yet no man *grudgeth*, or endeavoureth to take away those *just* Legacies, which their *good* Benefactours had bestowed upon these *unjust* men; so there is no reason, that any mans eyes should be *evill* for the *goodnesse* of their Ancestours unto the Clergie, but that their *Wils* should stand to those uses after their death, as *intemerate*, as if they were *now* alive to dispose of their beneficence.

2. They are most *injurious* to the King, (who *is wise as an Angel of God*, and therefore holdeth this *sacriledge* odious to his princely heart) that would seek to enrich his Crown with that, which will *shake* it on his head, and endanger all his Posteritie to such *fearfull* judgements as his Progenitours have *denounced*, and God hath *executed* upon many Kings and Princes for the like sinnes; for as *Moses* prayeth against the *sacrilegious* enemies of *Levi*, *Smite through the loines of them that rise against him, and of them that hate him, that they rise not again*: so we finde that *many* ancient families, having by the Statute of *Dissolution* taken some of the Lands and Tithes of the Church into their possessions, have found the same like the Gold of *Tholous*, or the *Eagles* feathers, *pernitiosa potentia*, that will consume all the feathers where they shall be mingled; Deut. 33 11. Pierius in Hieroglyph.

Who so is wise will consider these things, and will not to satisfie these *Anabaptisticall* dregges of the people, and the *enemies* of all Christian Religion, *sacrilegiously* take away, with *Ælians* boy, the golden plate from *Dianas* Crown, the Lands and Revenues of the Church; but, *having not so learned Christ*, they will do that which becommeth *Saints*, and suffer the *dead* Ælian. l. 5. c. 15. Var. Hist.

to enjoy their own *will* in that wherein they put them to no charge, and if they do intend to *promote* Gods service, they will not rob Saint *Peter* to pay Saint *Paul*, but will rather say with holy *David*, God *forbid that I should offer sacrifice to God of that which cost me nothing*.

15. As any wooden Preachers, like *Jeroboams* Priests *de fæce plebis*, scarce worthy to be compared with the Groomes of their stable, or such *humi serpentes*, poor abjects, as *Job* speakes of, *The sonnes of villaines and bondmen, more vile than the earth they crawle upon*, are fit enough to be their teachers and beggarly pensioners; so any *place*, a thatched *barne*, a littered stable, or an ample *Cow-house* is thought by these to be very *fair* and *fit* to be the House of Him that was *borne* in a stable and *laid* in a manger; and any *service*, prayers without sense, such as our Saviour blames, and preaching without *learning*, without truth, such as their *Enthusiasts* conceive *in illa hora, & quicquid in buccam venerit*, without any further studie or meditation, is justified to be most acceptable to God; witnesse the Authour of *one argument more against the Cavaliers*, where that *great* Scholar in his own opinion, railes against our *grave* Bishops, and most *impudently* reproacheth a *very* reverend man of *known* worth, and *great* learning, by the *scandalous* epithite of *The ceremonious Master of Baliol Colledge, Doctour Laurence*, whom for a most *learned* and *pious* Sermon preached before the King, upon these words of *Exodus*, *Put off thy shoes from thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground*: he doth, just like the *eldest* son of his *dear* father the devill (as *Tertullian* calleth *Hermogenes, primogenitum diaboli*) most *falsely* and shamelesly charge him with the *wearing of consecrated slippers*, which was never done, but is one of those *scurrilous* invented imputations of this *malicious* Accuser of his brethren, now thrown at him, whose shooes, either for *learning* or *pietie*, I am sure, this rambling *Arguist*, and railing *Rabsheka* is not worthy to bear; and for the *service* of God in our Churches, thogh the *holy* Prophet, which was *A man according to Gods own heart*, praised God *in the beautie of holinesse*, upon all the best *instruments* of musicke, and commanded us as well

Iob 30. 8.

What prayers and Sermons please these men.

Musicke ever used in the Church.

well in the grammaticall sense, as in the mysticall sense, *to sing praises unto our God with Tabret and Harpe, to praise him in the sound of the Trumpet, in the Cymbals and dances, upon the well tuned Cymbals, and upon the loud Cymbals*; yet this zealous *Organomastix*, gives us none other Title, than *Cathedral Roarers and Squeakers*: and good reason it is he should be very angry with *roaring* and *squeaking* in Churches; for that having been possest of a very *competent* Living with cure of soules these four or five yeeres together (if I am not mistaken in the Author) he never yet either read or preached in that or any other Church; so necessary is *non residence*, and so usefull are *dumbe* dogges, when they are willing to snarle and barke against *Government* and Religion: but it is strange to me, that such a *divine* harmonie, which hath made others *sober*, should make this spawn of the red Dragon *mad*; for we know some Lawgivers commanded children to be taught Δορισὶ, after the *grave* composed tones of the Doricke way, *ad corda fera demulcenda*, to soften the *fiercenesse* of their dispositions, and *Ad mentis fervorem temperandum*, to cool and allay the heat and distempers of their mindes, as *Achilles* was appeased in *Homer*, and *Theodosius* was drawn to commiseration, *luctuoso carmine*, by a sad poëm sung to him at supper, when he *intended* the utter destruction of *Antioch*; and the Scripture testifieth the like effect of *Davids* harpe in King *Saul*; yet all this *sweet* and hallowed aire, which *ravisheth* devout soules, hath onely *filled* this envious Malignant with nastie windes and stinking expressions. So contrary to the words of God himselfe, *Exod.* 3. 5. and against the *judgement* of all Divines, and the *practice* of all Saints, *à primordiis ecclesiæ*, from the first *birth* of Gods Church, he most *ignorantly* denieth *any* place to be *holier* than another, which makes me affraid, that *Heaven* with this man and his faction is deemed no holier than *Hell*, or the *Lords* day no holier than *monday*, no more than they hold the *Church* holier than their *barnes*, or the holiest *Priest*, though he were *Aaron* himselfe, the *Saint* of the Lord, holier than the *prophanest* worldling; for I finde no difference that they make either of *persons*, *times*, or *places*, but such a commixtion of all things,

Psal. 147. 1. 149 3. 150. 3, 4, 5.

Pag. 14.

Musicke how usefull. *Theodoric. Epist. l.* 2. *Plutarch de Musica.*

Niceph. l. 12. *c.* 43.

Pag. 15, 18.

as

as if they intended to reduce and bring the whole world into that *confused Chaos*, which God first created, before he disposed the parts thereof into their severall stations.

But I am loath to spend any *more* time about this *ignorant* Argument, that is, as all the rest of their Writings are, as full of railing and unsavoury speeches as any mortall pen can diffuse; therefore I leave him to do with his heart and mouth as that *Moruſſian Cabares* (whereof he speaketh) did with those Churches, which the *Gothes* and *Vandales* had defiled.

Thus you have *some*, and I might adde here abundance more of their *absurd* & impious Doctrines, which their *ignorant* simplicitie produced, and their *furious* zeal published out of mis-interpreted Scriptures; not that *all* these points are taught by every *one* of their Teachers, but that *all* these & *many* more are taught and maintained by *some* one or other of them, as I could easily expresse it, if it were not too *tedious* for my Reader; but the *bulke* of my Book swels too big, and their fancies are but *Dreames* fit for laughter, and I brought these onely as *Vineger* to be tasted, and then to be spit out again.

CHAP. X.

Sheweth the great Bug-beares that affrighted this faction; the four speciall meanes they used to secure themselves; the manifold lyes they raised against the King, and the two speciall questions that are discussed about Papists.

5. The setling of the *Militia*.

5. FOr the setling of the *Militia*, and putting the whole Kingdom in a posture of Defence, as they termed it:

1. They dreamed of a desperate Disease.
2. They devised an empericall way to cure it. } and,

1. The disease.

1. The *Disease* was a monstrous fear of Poperie, and the re-establishment of abolished superstitions in our Church, to invade their consciences, and of the Papists, with fire and sword,

sword, to wast their estates, and to take away their lives and liberties, and through that *grounndlesse* feare, they looked on the innocent *ceremonies*, that were established in the Church, as dangerous *innovations* and introductions to idolatrie.

And in the *State*, they feared the *practised* wayes and endeavours, to produce an *arbitrary* government by our advancing of a *boundlesse prerogative*, even to the dispoyling of the Subject of his property, and robbing him of the benefit of the *laws*: these were their feares.

And the *grounds* of these feares were *lying* fictions, and most *scandalous* detractions and defamations; for their *invented* letters that should come from *Holland*, and from *Denmarke*, and some other places beyond the Seas, (where we were better *believe* them, then go *try* whether they were true) which informed them sometimes of a fleete of *Danes*, sometimes of another Nation, that should come to assist the King for the setting up of *Popery*, and the securing of himselfe in a *tyrannicall* and arbitrary government over them: and *every* day almost produced a discovery of *new* treacheries against the Parliament, what terrible things frighted them; as the stable of *Horses* under ground, (for indeed they were invisible Horses, such as *Elisha's* servant saw, terrifying their guilty consciences) and that of the *Taylors* in Moore-fields, and the like *horrid* machinations, that were to come against them, I know not from *whom*, and God knowes from *whence*; which things, how *false* they were, time, which is the *mother* of truth, hath long agone made manifest and ridiculous, to any man that is not *bewitched* with these lying *fancies*: therefore, lest these *dreames* of their distempered braines, should be too *soone* descryed, and so prove defective to produce their intended project, they alleadge the *Queene* is a Papist (and I would to God they were so *truly* religious, and void of *hypocrisie* in their profession, as she, most *gracious* Queene, is in her religion) then they say, the *Bishops* are all Papists, *Deanes* and *Prebends* are of the same stampe, and all the Kings *Chapleines*, that were preferred by the Archbishop were either close *papists* or profest *Arminians*, which are but Cosen germanes unto the other, *Arminianism*

What terrible things frighted them.

being but a bridge to paſſe over unto popery.

And with *theſe* and the like *falſe* ſlanders againſt the *King*, *Queene*, and *Clergy*, they ſo *bewitched* moſt of their well meaning brethren of the ſame houſe, and *amazed* all the ſimpler ſort of people of this Kingdome with theſe *feares*, and filled them with ſuch *jealouſies*, with thoſe pamphlets, that they *cauſed* to be printed, and diſperſed every where, that they were at their wits *end*, for feare of this lamentable *alteration* of their religion, and *deprivation* of their liberties.

2. The Cure.

2, The *diſeaſe* being *thus* ſpread, like a *gangrene*, over all the parts of the body of this Kingdome, they like *skilfull* Phyſitians deviſe the *cure*; and that is, the preparation of a *Militia*, and this *militia* they would have put into *ſuch* hands as they pleaſed, ſuch as they might *confide* in; and I wiſh the whole Kingdome knew who thoſe men were, and who they are, that they doe *confide* in; for I know,

1, Some of them are *poore* men of moſt *deſperate* fortunes, if bankrupters may be termed ſuch;

2. Others to be moſt *factious* and ſciſmaticall men, addicted to *Anabaptiſme* and *Browniſme* and other worſer ſects; as amongſt the *London* Commanders, *Ven*, *Manwaring*, *Fawke*, *Norington*, *Bradly*, *Baſt* and the reſt, whereof there are twiſe as many ſchiſmaticall, and as it is conceived, *beggarly* ſectaries, as are right honeſt men among them; and if we looked among their *Lords*, and all the reſt of their nomination throughout the Kingdome, I doubt we ſhall find ſome of them to be juſt of the *ſame* condition.

And becauſe the King (to whoſe care and truſt *God* had committed all the people of this Kingdom, (and not to them, that are called by the King, and choſen *only* by men, and that only for *this* time,) and of whom he will require an account of the lawes and religion whereof he made *him* keeper and defender, and not of them) thought moſt rightly, that this *Militia* ſhould be commited rather to *ſuch* men, as he might confide in (as it was in the raigne of Qneene *Elizabeth*, and His Father of ever bleſſed memory) rather than to *any* that they ſhould name, which was to diſrobe himſelfe of all his *regall* power

power, of the *chiefest* garland of his royall prerogatives, (without which he could hold his Crown by no better a tenure, then *durante beneplacito*) and to put the sword out of his *owne* hand, into the hands of them that could not *love* him, because they could not *trust* him, as they alleaged; (and what reason had he to *trust* them that were *causelessly* so distrustfull of him?) they startled at this deniall.

God openeth the Kings eyes.

And because the King of *heaven* had by this time opened the Kings eyes, to let him see what *hitherto* he could hardly imagine, that these men (to whom he had granted for the good of his Kingdome, so many acts of grace and favour, as never any King of *England* did before, and had very *graciously* offered to commit to the hands of their owne choosing, so large a *share* of the *Militia*, as might have rendered the whole Kingdome most secure, if security in a *iust* and legall way had beene all that they sought for) had their intentions far *otherwise* then they pretended, and that not only the government of the *Church* was intended to be altered, and the *governours* thereof destroyed, but *himself* also was hereby disrobed of *those* rights, which God and the *lawes* of the land had put into his hands, and the Kingdome brought either into a *base* tyranny, or *confused* anarchie, when all things shall be done according to the *arbitrary* power of *these* factious and schismaticall men, therefore he *utterly* refused to grant their desires, and most *wisely* withstood their designe.

How they strengthened themselves to make their orders firm without the king.

Whereupon, these men put their *heads* together, to consult how they might *strengthen* themselves, and make their ordinances *firme* and binding without the King; and to that purpose, having by their former doings, gotten too great an interest as well in the *faith*, as in the *affections* of the people, in confidence of their owne strength, they came roundly to the businesse, and what they knew was *not* their right, as their former *Petitions* can sufficiently witnesse, they resolve to effect the same by *force*, but as *insensibly* as they can devise; as,

1. To seize upon the Kings *Navie* to secure the Seas.

2. To lay hold upon all the Kings *Magazin*, Forts, Townes, and Castles.

3. To with-hold his *moneyes* and revenues, and all other meanes from the King.

4. To withdraw the *affections*, and to poyson the *loyalty* of all his Majesties Subjects from him.

Psl.30.6 And hereby they thought (and it must have beene so indeed, except the Lord had beene on his side) *they had made their hill so strong, that it could not be moved*, and the King so *weake* and destitute of all meanes, that he could no wayes *subsist* or relieve himselfe, as a member of their owne House did tell me, for

1 Earl of Warwick made vice Admirall. 1. They get the Earle of *Warwicke* to be appointed Vic-admirall of the Sea, and to commit all the Kings Navie into his hand, and to take away that charge from Sir *Iohn Pennington*, whom most men believed to be farre the better Sea-man, but more *faithfull* to his King, and the other *purer* to the Parliament.

2 Sir Iohn Hotham put to Hull for the Magazine. 2. They send Sir *John Hotham* a most insolent man, that most *uncivilly* contemned the King to his face, to seize upon the Kings *Magazine* that he bought with his own money, (when they might as well take away my horse that I paid for) and to keepe the King out of *Hull*, which was his owne proper Towne, and therefore might as well have kept him out of White-hall, and was an act so full of injustice, as that I scarce know a *greater*.

3 They detained the kings moneys. Esay 1.23. 3. Because *moneyes* are great meanes to effect any worldly affaire, and the *sinews* of every warre, when as men and armes and all other *necessaries* may be had for money, some of them and their followers shew themselves to be just as the Peeres of *Israel*, *companions of thieves*, meere robbers, which *forcibly* take away a mans money from him; they take all the Kings *treasure*, they intercept, detaine, and convert all the Kings revenues and customes, to strengthen themselves against the King.

4 They labour to render the king odious by lyes. 4. Because their *former* Remonstrances framed by this *faction*, of the *ill* government of this Kingdome, though in *some* things true, (which the King *ingeniously* acknowledgeth, and most graciously promiseth to redresse them) yet in all things full

full of *gall* and bitternesse against the King, could not so *fully* poyson the love and loyalty of the Kings Subjects, as they desired, especially the love of *those* that knew his Majestie, who the *better* they knew him, did the more *affectionately* love him, and the more *faithfully* serve him; they thought to doe it *another* and a surer way, with apparent *lyes*, palpable *slanders*, and abominable accusations, *invented*, printed, and scattered over all the *parts* of this Kingdome, by their trencher *Chaplaines*, and parasiticall *Preachers*, and other Pamphleters, some busy *Lawyers* and Pettifoggers, to bring the King into an *odium*, disliked and deserted of all his loving Subjects. And what *created* power under heaven was able to *dissolve* that wickednesse, which *subtiltie* and *malice* had thus treacherously combined to bring to passe?

Hereupon (after many *threatning* votes, and actuall hostility exercised against his *Royall* person) the King is forced to raise a *guard* for the defence of himselfe, and those his good Subjects that attended him; then presently that *small* guard, that consisted but of the *chiefe* gentry of the Countrey, was declared to be an *army* raised for the subversion of the *Parliament*, and the destruction of our *native* liberties; an *invincible* army is voted to be raised, the Earle of *Essex* is chosen to be their Generall, with whom they promise both to *live* and *die*, the Earle of *Bedford* Generall of the Horse, *moneyes* are provided, and all things are prepared to fetch the *King* and all *delinquents*, or to be the *death* of all withstanders; and that nothing might hinder *this* designe, though the King in many gracious Messages attested by the subscription of *many* noble Lords that were upon the place, *assured* them, he never intended *any* warre against his Parliament, yet they proceed with all eagernesse, and declare all those that shall assist the *King*, either with Horse, money, or men, to be malignants and enemies unto the King and Kingdome, and such *delinquents* as shall be sure to receive *condigne* punishment by the Parliament, *Hoc minus est, hoc magnum.*

t Lye, that he intended to war against his Parliament.

And among the rest of their *impudent* slanders, this was their Master-peece, which they *ever* harped upon, that hee

countenanced *Papists*, and intended to bring *Poperie* into this Kingdom, and to that end had an Armie of *Papists* to assist him.

But to satisfie any *sensible* man in this point, I would crave the resolution of these two Questions:

Two questions to be resolved.

1. Whether every *Papist* that is subject to his Majestie is not bound to *assist* and defend his King in all his dangers?
2. Whether the *King* should not protect his Subjects that are *Papists* in all their dangers, so farre as by the Law he ought to do it; and accept of their service when himselfe is invironed with dangers?

1. All Papists bound to assist their King.

For first, I believe there is *no* Law that *inhibiteth* a *Papist* to serve his King against a *Rebellion*, or to ride post, to tell the King of a Designe to murder Him, or any other *intended* Treason against Him; or being present, to take away a weapon from that man that attempted to kill the King; because his not comming to *Church* doth not exempt him from his *Allegeance*, or discharge him of his *dutie* and service unto the King; and therefore if a Fleet from *France* or *Spain* or any other *forreigne* part should invade us, or any Rebellion at *home* should rise against his Soveraigne, and seek to *destroy* those Lawes and Liberties whereof himselfe and his Posteritie hath as good an interest as any other Subject, I say, he is bound by all Lawes to *assist* his King, and to do his best endeavour, both with his *purse* and in his *person*, not onely to *oppose* that externall Invasion, but also to *subdue*, as well that home-bred Rebellion, as the forreigne Invasion.

2. The King bound to protect dutifull Papists.

2. If a *Papist* should be injured, his *estate* seized upon, his *house* plundered, and his *person*, if taken, imprisoned, not because he transgressed any other Law, but that he *dispenceth* not with the Law of his conscience, to be no *Papist*; and being thus injured, should come unto his King, and say, I am your *Subject*, and have lived *dutifully*, I did nothing which the Law gives me not leave, I have truly paid all duties and *humbly* submitted my selfe to all penalties; and yet I know not *why*, I am thus used and abused by my neighbours; I am driven from my *house* by force of Armes, and I have no *place* to breathe, but

under

urder your Majesties wings and the shelter of your power; therefore I beseech you, as you are my King, and are obliged to do your best for the *safetie* of your *true* Subjects, let me have your *protection*, and you shall have my *service* unto death? I would fain know what the King should do in *such* a case; denie his protection, or *refuse* his service? the one is *injustice*, the other not the *best* wisedom, especially if he needed service; for as the Law of *nature* and of *nations* requireth all Subjects, to *obey* their Kings and faithfully to *serve* them, of what *Religion* soever their Kings shall be; so *Lege relationis*, every King is bound to *protect* every *faithfull* Subject, that *observeth* his Lawes, or *submitteth* to their penalties, without corrupting of his fellow Subjects, of what Religion soever he is: because they are his Subjects, not as they are *faithfull* Christians, but as *obedient* men, and he is to rule, not over the *faith* of their soules, but the *actions* of their bodies; and it is an Axiome in Divinitie, that *Fides non cogenda*; and if Kings cannot perswade their Subjects to embrace the true Faith, they ought not to cut them off, so long as they are true Subjects: and therefore with what *reason* can any man blame the King, either for *protecting* them in their distresses, or *accepting* their sevice in his own extremities? I cannot understand. And yet, for the *goodly* companie of *Papists* which his Majestie entertaineth in all his Armies, they cannot all make up so much as one *good* Regiment, as an Officer in his Majesties Armie *confidently* affirmeth; but it will serve their turne to *taxe* the King, to lay imputations upon him, even the *very* things that belong unto themselves (as the whole summe of those things that are expressed in *Englands Petition to their King, mutatis mutandis* might *truly* be presented to the two Houses, that have now *almost* destroyed us all) and to make them *mightie* faults in him, which are *no* faults at all in themselves; because there is no *fear* of their *favouring* Poperie, though, as they have very many, so they should have *never* so many more in their Armie. Pag. 10.

Another *Slander* they not onely *whispered*, but also *dispersed* the same farre and near among the people, to make the King still the more *odious* unto his Subjects, that he was the cause of the 3. Lye, that he caused the Rebellion in *Ireland*.

Rebellion

Rebellion in *Ireland*, and that the Rebels there had his *Commiſſion* under the *Broad* Seal, to plunder the Proteſtants and to expell them thence; that ſo the Goſpell being rooted out of *Ireland*, Poperie might the eaſier be tranſported and planted here in *England*; whereas themſelves in very deed were the *ſole* cauſers of this Rebellion, as I have ſhewed unto you before; and the *colour* of this ſlander was, that the *Rebellion* being raiſed, the *Ring-leaders* of thoſe Rebels, the ſooner to gain the ſimple to adhere unto them, perſwaded them to believe that they had the Kings *command* to do the ſame; and to that purpoſe ſhewed them the *Broad* Seal, which they had taken from *Miniſters*, and Clerkes of the Peace, and others, whom formerly they had plundered, and taken their Seales from them, which they *cunningly* affixed to certain Commiſſions of their own framing; as M *Sherman* aſſured me, he ſaw the *Broad* Seal that was taken from one M. *Hart*, that was Clerke of the Peace in the Countie of *Tumond*; and was found in the pocket of one of the *chief* Leaders of the Rebels, when he was killed by the Kings Souldiers; yet, this *falſe* and lewd practice of theſe Rebels in *Ireland* was a moſt *welcome* newes to this *Faction* in *England* to lay this imputation upon the King, that he was the *cauſe* of this Rebellion, which themſelves had kindled, and were glad to finde ſuch a *colour* to impute it unto him, that it might not be ſuſpected to be raiſed by them.

The cauſe of this ſlander.

Many other ſuch *falſehoods*, Lyes, and impudent ſlanders hath the *father of lyes* cauſed theſe his *Children* moſt impudently to *father* upon the King; but as the Philoſopher ſaith, *Non quia affirmatur aut negatur, res erit aut non erit*, things are not *ſo* and *ſo*, becauſe they are ſaid to be *ſo*; neither can they be no ſuch things, onely becauſe they are denied to be ſuch; as *Gold* is not *Copper*, becauſe ignorant men *affirme* it to be ſo; nor a *drunken* man *ſober*, or a *vitious* man *vertuous*, becauſe they *deny* him to be good, and blazon him abroad for one of the ſonnes of *Belial*; but as Gold is *Gold*, and Braſſe is *Braſſe*, ſo godly men are *good*, wicked men are *evill*, and Rebels are none other than *Rebels*, let men call them what they will; and ſo our King is not *ſuch* a man as they ſay, becauſe they *affirme* it; but he

How things are in deed.

is

is *indeed* a most just, virtuous, and most pious Prince, let them say what they will, *Their tongues are their own*, and we cannot *rule* them; and so all his followers are *better* Protestants in deed, and *lesse* Papists in all points of faith than the *best* of them, that terme us so by *false* names. God forgive them these slanderous accusations.

CHAP: XI.

Sheweth the unjust proceedings of these factious Sectaries against the King; eight speciall wrongs and injuries that they have offered him; which are the three States; and that our Kings are not Kings by election or covenants with the People.

AND yet for all these strange courses, contrary to all *humane* thoughts, *which is marvelous in our eyes*; the Lord of Heaven *whose counsell shall stand, and whose will shall be done*, hath them all in *derision*, dissipates all these *devices*, and turnes all the counsell of *Achitophel* against his own head, when he *opened* the eyes of many *millions* of the Kings true Subjects, to behold and *detest* these *unfaithfull* dealings, and *disloyall* proceedings against so gratious a King; and therefore *petitioned* and subscribed that his Majestie standing upon his Guard, and defending himselfe from *such* indignities as might follow, they would hazard their *lives* and *fortunes* to assist him, to repell those more than *barbarous* injuries, that were offered unto Him. *Psal.* 118.23. *Esay* 46.10.

Therefore now, *Memoriæ proditum est*, I finde it written, that without *fear* of God, without *regard* of Majestie, without *justice*, without *honestie*, they are resolved, rather than to *repent* of their former wickednesse, to involve the *whole* Kingdom in an *unnaturall* civill War; and to maintain the same against the *will* and contrary to the *desires* both of the King

and Kingdom; and it is *almost* incredible, what wicked courses and how *unjust* and intufferable Orders and Ordinances you shall finde recorded, that they have made:

1. Against the *King.*
2. Against the *Subjects,* } Which are all said to be exceedingly abused by them; for,
3. Against the *Law.*

1. Their proceedings against the *King.*

1. Against the King, it is registred to Posteritie, that they have proceeded besides many other things, in all these particulars:

1. Wrong. *Matth.* 8. 20

1. They possesse all the Kings Houses, Townes, and Castles, but what he gets by the *strength* of his sword, and detain them from him; so that we may say with our Saviour, *The foxes have holes, and the fowles of the aire have nests, but the* King of *England* hath not an house allowed him, by the Houses of Parliament wherein to put his head; and they take not onely his *Houses,* but also his *rents* and revenues, and (as I understood when I was in *Oxford*) his very clothes, and provision for his Table, that seeing they could not take away his *life* by the sword, they might murder him with *cold* or famine, when he should not have the subsistence (if they could hinder him) to maintain life and soul together, which is the shame of all shame, and able to make any *other* men odious to all the world, thus *maliciously* and barbarously to deal with their own *most* gracious King; neither doth their malice here *end,* but they with-hold the *Rents* of the Queen, and seize upon the *Revennes* of our Prince, which I assure them, my Countreymen takes in great scorne, and I believe will right it with their lives, or this Parliament Faction shall redeem their errours with no *small* repentance, when as we finde no Prince of *Wales* was ever suffered by his Subjects to have *such* indignities offered him by the *greatest* Peeres of *England.*

The complaint to the House of Commons. *Reg.* 19.

And here I cannot omit what Alderman *Garroway* saith of the reproach of Master *Pym,* touching the maintaining of the Kings *other* Children, which he professeth made his *heart* to rise, and hoped it did so to *many* more: " Is our *good* King fal-
" len so *low,* that his Children must be kept for him? It is
" worth our inquirie, *who* brought him to that condition?
" We hear him complain, that all his own *revenue* is seized and
" taken from him; Is not his Exchequer, Court of Wards, and
" Mint

Alderman *Garroway* his Speech.

" Mint here, his Customes too are worth somewhat, and are his " Children kept upon Almes? How shall *We* and our *Children* " prosper, if this be not remedied? And I pray God these things rise not up in *judgement* against them and this Nation; but hereby they intended to verifie that disloyal Speech which One of them uttered in a Taverne, and God will avert it from his Servant, *That they would make the King as poor as Job, unlesse he did comply with them.* *Sober Sadnesse, p. 22.*

2. If any man which they like not *attend* the Kings Person, though he be his sworne servant, or *assist* him in his just defence, which he is bound to do by the *Law* of God and man; yet he is presently voted and condemned for a *Malignant*, popish, disaffected, evill Councellour, and an enemie to the State; and that is enough (if he be catched) to have him spoiled and imprisoned at their pleasure; nay, my selfe was told by some of that Faction, that because I went to see the King, I should be plundered and imprisoned if I were taken. 2. Wrong.

3. Though they do *solemnly* professe that his Majesties *personall* safetie, and his *royall* honour and greatnesse are *much* dearer unto them than their own lives & fortunes, which they do most *heartily* dedicate, & shall most *willingly* imploy for the support & maintenonce thereof; yet for all this hearty Protestation, they had at that *very* time (as the King most *accurately* observeth in his Answer) directed the Earle of *Warwicke* to assist Sir *John Hotham* against him, appointed their Generals, and as Alderman *Gurroway* testifieth, raised ten thousand armed men out of *London*, and the neighbour Countries before the King had seven hundred: and afterwards, though the King sent from *Nottingham* a *gratious* Message and follicitation for peace, yet they supposing this proceeded from a *diffidence* of his own strength, or being too *confident* of their own force, *sleighted* the Kings Grace, and most *barbarously* proceeded in the most *hostile* manner, waged *war*, and gave *battaile* against the Kings Armie, where they knew he was in his *own* Person, and as one of their *Preachers* taught the Sunday before the Battaile, that they might with a *good* conscience, as well kill the King (*horresco dicere*) as *any* other man; so (according to Captain 3. Wrong. *The Petition to his Majestie the 16. of July 1642.* *Non turpe est abeo vinci quē vincere est nefas, neque ei invidendum est, qui beneficio aliquē submittit, quem ipse super omnes extulit.* *Distrahunt Armenia Pompeio.*

Blagues directions, as *Judas* taught the high Priests servants) we know what Troopes and Regiments were most aimed at, whereas they doe most *ridiculously* say they have, for the defence of his person, sent many a Canon bullet about his eares, which he did with that *Kingly* courage and *heroike* magnanimity, yea and that *Christian* resolution and dependance on *Gods assistance* passe through, that it shall be recorded to his *everlasting* honour, and their *indeleble* shame and reproach, so long as the world endureth.

4 Wrong. 4. They have most *disloyally* and traiterously spoken both privately and publikely *such things* against his Majesty, as would make the very Heathens teare them in peeces, that should say the like of their *tyrannous* Kings, and such as I could not believe they proceeded from the mouth of a *Christian* against so Christiana King, but that I finde most of them were *publikely* uttered, made knowne unto his Majesty, and related by himselfe, and those that were eare witnesses thereof, as (*horresco referens*) that *he was not worthy to be our King: not fit to live*: that *hee was the traitor*: that *the Prince would governe better*: and that *they dealt fairely with him they did not depose him*, as their fore-fathers had deposed *Richard* the second, whom all the world knoweth to be most traiterously murdered, and the whole *progresse* of that act, whereby hee was deposed, is nothing else but the *scandall* of that parliament, and an *horrid* treason upon the *fairest* relation of any Chronicle: and the good Bishop of *Carlile*, was not then affreid, in open house to tell the Lords so to their faces; and I would our parliament men would read his speech.

Sober sadnesse. p 3 The Viewer p 4. His Majesties Declaration. *Truesell* in the supplement to *Daniels* history

5 Wrong. 5 They command their *owne* Orders, Ordinances and Declarations to be printed *Cum privilegio*, and to be published in *publike* throughout the whole Kingdome, and they are not a little punished that neglect it; and whatsoever *Message*, Answer, Declaration or Proclamation commeth from the King, to informe his subjects of the *truth* of things, and to *undeceive* his much seduced people, they streightly forbid *those* to bee printed, and impriſon (if they can catch them) all that

pub-

publish them, as they did many worthy Ministers in the City of *London*, and in many other places of this Kingdome

6 They have *publikely* voted in their house, and accordingly indeavoured by *Messages* to perswade our brethren of *Scotland*, to ioyne in their *assistance* with these *grand* rebels, to *rebell* against their Soveraigne; but I perswade my selfe (as I said before) that the Nobility and Gentry of *Scotland*, are more *religious* in themselves, more *loyall* to their liege Lord, and indeed *wiser* in all their actions, then, while they may live *quietly* at home in a happy peace, to undertake upon the perswasions of rebellious subiects, such an unhappy warre abroad. 6 Wrong.

7. It is *remonstrated* and related publikely, that, as if they had shaken off all *subiection*, and were become already a State *independent*, they have *treated* by their agents with forraigne States, and doe *still* proceed in that course; which, if true, is such an *usurpation* upon Soveraignty, asw as never before *attempted* in this Kingdome; and such a *presumption*, as few men know the *secret* mischiefes that may lurke therein. 7 Wrong.

8. They suffer and licence their *Pamphleters Pryn, Goodwin, Burget, Marshall, Sedgwicke*, and other emmissaries of wickednesse, to publish such *treasons* and *blasphemies*, and abominable *aphorismes*, as that the *negative* vote of the King is no more then the dissent of one man, the *affirmative* vote of the King makes not a law, *ergo*, the *negative* cannot destroy it, and the like absurd and sensesse things that are in those aphorisms, and in *Prins* booke of the Soveraigne power of Parliament, whereby they would *deny* the kings power to *hinder* any act, that both the Houses shall conclude; and so, taking away those *iust* prerogatives from him, that are as *hereditary* to him as his kingdome, *compell* him to assent to their conclusions: for which things our histories tell us, that other Parliaments have banished (and upon their returnes they were hanged) both the *Spencers*, the father and the sonne, for the like presumption, as among other Articles, for denying this Prerogative unto their 8 Wrong. Why the two *Spencers* dyed

king, and *affirming*, that if he neglected his duty, and would not do what he ought, for the good of the kingdom, he might be compelled by *force* to performe it, which very thing, divesteth the king of all *Soveraignty*, overthroweth *Monarchy*, and maketh our government a meer *Aristocracy*, contrary to the constitution of our *first* kings, and the iudgement of all *ages*; for we know full well, from the *practise* of all former parliaments, that seeing the *three* States are subordinate unto the king, in making lawes (wherein the *chief'st* power consisteth) they may propound and consent, but it is stil in the kings power to refuse or ratifie: and I never read that any parliament man, till now, did ever say the contrary: but that if there be no concurrence of the king (in whom *formally* the power of making of any law resideth, *ut in subiecto*,) to make the law: the two Houses (whose consent is but a requisite condition to compleat the kings power) are but a *liveleſſe* convention, like two cyphers without a figure, that of *themselves* are of no value or power, but *ioyned* unto their figures, have the *full* strength of their places; which is confirmed by the viewer of the Observations, out of 11. *Hen.* 7. 23. *per Davers*, *Polydore*, 185. *Cowell in. ter. Verbo prerog. Sir Tho. Smith de republ. Angl. l.* 2. *c.* 3. *Bodin. l.* 1. *c.* 8. for if the kings *consent* were not necessary for the perfecting of every act, then certainly (as another saith) all those Bills that heretofore have passed both Houses, and for want of the *Royall* assent, have *slept*, and beene buried all this while, would now *rise* up as so many lawes and statutes, and would make as great confusion, as these new orders and ordinances have done.

Per asperte vid. Elismere post. natip, 99.

p. 48,

p. 19, 20, 21,

The Letter to a Gentleman in Glouceſter shire, p. 3

And as the Lawyers tell us, that the *necessity* of the assent of all *three* states in Parliament, is such, as without any *one* of them, the *rest* doe but loose their labour; so, *Le Roy est assentus ceo faict un act de Parliament*, and as another saith, *Nihil ratum haberur, nisi quod Rex comprobarit*, nothing is perfected but what the King confirmeth.

Lamberts Archeion, 271. Vid. he Vitwic p. 21.

But here in the naming of the *three* States, I must tell you, that I find in *most* of our Writers, about this new-borne question of the Kings power, a very *great omission*, that they are not

not *particularly* set downe, that the whole Kingdome might know which is every one of them; and, upon this omission I conceive as great *mistake* in them, that say the three States are 1. the king, 2. the House of Peeres, 3. the House of Commons: for I am informed by no meane Lawyer, that you may find it upon the Rowles of *Hen.* 5. as I remember, and I am sure you may find it in the first yeare of *Rich.* 3. where the three States are particularly named; and the king is *none* of them, "for it is said, that at the request, and by the assent of the three "estates of this Realm, that is to say, the Lords Spirituall, the "Lords temporall, and Commons of the Land assembled, it is "declared that our said Soveraign Lord the king, is the very un-"doubted king of this realm: wherein you may plainly see, the king that is acknowledged their Soveraigne by all three, can be none of the three, but is the head of all three, as the Deane is none of the Chapter, but is *caput capituli*; and as in *France* and *Spaine*, so in *England*, I conceive the three estates to bee, 1. the Lords *Spirituall*, that are, if not representing, yet *in loco*, in the behalfe of all the Clergie of *England*, that till these *anabaptisticall* tares, have almost choaked all the Wheat in Gods field, were thought so considerable a party, as might deserve as well a *representation* in Parliament, as old *Sarum*, or the like Borough of scarce twenty Houses. 2. The *Lords Temporall* in the right of their honour and their posterity. 3. The *Commons* that are elected in the behalfe of the Countrey, Cities, and Burroughs; and what these three States consult and conclude upon for the good of the Church and kingdome, the king, as the *head* of all, was either to *approve* or *reiect* what he pleased; and, though we finde, with some *difficulty* (as the viewer of the Observations saith) where the *Parliament* is said to be a body, consisting of *King*, *Lords*, and *Commons*, (*ergo*, without the king there is no Parliament) yet herein the king is not said to be one of the three states; but the *first* and most principall part that constitutes the *body* of the parliament; but *John Bodin* that had very *exactly* learned the nature of our parliament, both by his reading and conferring with our *English* Embassador (as himselfe confesseth) saith, the States of *England*

Which bee the three States of England.

Speed l. 9. c. 19. p. 712. Anno 1 Ric. 2

p. 29. 25. H. 8. 21.

England are never otherwise assembled, (no more then they are in the Realmes of *France* and *Spaine*) then by parliament *writs*, and the states proceed not but by way of *supplications* and requests unto the king, and the states have no *power* of themselves to determine or decree any thing, seeing they cannot so much as *assemble* themselves, nor being assembled *depart* without expresse commandement from the king. In all this, and for all the search that I have made, I finde not the king named to be *one*, but rather by the consequence of the discourse, to bee *none* of the three, but, as I said, the *head* of all the three states: for, either the words of *Bodin* must bee understood of *two* states, in all the three kingdomes, which then had beene more properly termed, as we call them, either the two Houses, or the *Lords* and *Commons*, or else they must be very *absurd*; because the three states, if the king be *one* of them, can not bee said to be *called* by parliament writs, when as the king is called by no writ, nor can hee be said to *supplicate* unto himselfe: or to have no power to *depart* without leave, that is of himself. Therefore it must needs follow, that this learned man, who would speake neither *absurdly* nor *improperly*, meant by the three states, 1. The *Lords Spirituall*, 2. The *Lords Temporall*, 3. The *Commons* of the kingdome: and the *King* as the *head* of all, calling them, consulting and concluding with them, and dismissing them when he pleased. And *Will. Martyn* saith, King *Hen.* 1, at the same time 1114. devised and ordained the *manner* and fashion of a Court in *Parliament*, appointing it to consist of the *three estates*, of which himselfe was the *head*, so that his lawes, being made by the consent of all, were not disliked of any: these are his words. And I am informed by good Lawyers, that you may finde it in the *preambles* of many of our Statutes, and in the *body* of some other Statutes, and in some *Petitions*, especially one presented to Queene *Elizabeth* for the inlargement of one, that was committed for a *motion* that he made for *excluding* the Bishops out of the House of peeres, the three states are thus particularized, and the Lords Spirituall are nominated the first of the three, and are termed one of the greatest states of this realme.

Bodin. de repub. lat. c. 8

Such is the difference betwixt Queene *Elizabeths* time and our times.

And

And this I conceive to be the *right* constitution of a Parliament; therefore now, to cast off *one* of the three States, and to cut off the *head* of all three, by making the King but one of them, (that so both the King and the two Houses might be onely *co-ordinate*, when as indeed they are, as in some respect concurrent, so also *subordinate* unto him, as to their *Head*) is such a *change* and alteration as would quite overthrow the *fundamentall* constitution of the Government of this Kingdome, and make our King (if these men might have their will) to have no more power than the Duke of *Venice*.

Anno octavo Elizabeth c. 1.

And to that end this *Faction* have by themselves and their Pamphleters, laid down such *false* grounds of the *originall* of our Kings, as are exceeding *derogatory* to the Crown of *England*, as that they are Kings by *paction* and covenant with their people, which at first *chose* them, and *intrusted* them with their Government; and for the preservation of their *Lawes* against the incroachments of the King, and the making of new Lawes, as occasions required, ordained the *great* Councell, which they call Parliament, and which should have *full* power to restrain the King, if he did *abuse* his Power; and therefore the people may withdraw their *trust* when the Kings neglect their duty, and nullifie their faith unto their Subjects; for whosoever is *indifferently* read in Histories, and the *Chronicles of our* Kingdom, may easily finde how *falsly* and maliciously they would make this *free* Monarchie to have been *elective* and to be a conditionall Government; because *England*, *France*, and *Spain* were parts and parcels of the *Roman* Empire, and when the Emperours, by reason of their *intestine* broyles at home could not look into the parts abroad, the *right* Heir unto the Crown of *Britain*, assumed unto himself all the Royaltie and power that the Emperour had over us, and succeeded him, not by any pact or covenant with the people, (though not as then for some reasons without the request of the people) but by *that* right which God and nature allowed unto Kings, and was due, either to the *Roman* Emperour or to *any* other *absolute* Monarch of any Nation; as the *old* Chronicles of those times and the regaining of the Crown by *Vortigerne*, after that the people had

The false grounds of the originall of our Kings.

The disclaimer, *p.* 17, 18, 19.

Post mortem Maximi Constantinopolitani à Britannis. But not a word in all the storie, that any one of the British Kings was *elected*. *Anonymus MS. in Bibl. Exon. qui scripsit hist. omnium regum qui regnaverunt in Anglia.*

had *rebelliously* rejected him, and received, but not elected, his son *Vortimer* in his place, do most *sufficiently* clear the case.

And therefore what *Soveraigne* Power soever is due to *any* absolute Monarch, and what *obedience* soever S. *Paul* affirmeth to be due to the *Roman* Emperours that then ruled over us, or Saint *Peter* commandeth to be given to other Kings, the same is in *all* things due to our Kings, ever since *Aurelius Ambrosius* that succeeded *Vortigerne*; or if you will not ascend so high, yet without all contradiction ever since *William* the Conquerour, whom you cannot say was *elected*, nor any other that succeeded him, and therefore cannot be *debarred* or denied any of those *Prerogatives* and *Soveraignties* that belong unto the most *absolute* Monarch, save onely in those things, which of their *speciall* grace and favour they granted unto their Subjects, and bound themselves at their Coronation, to performe *those* promises of priviledge and freedom which they made unto them; and that *distinction* of the disclaimer of an *absolute* and a *Politique* Monarch, with his two leaves discourse upon the same, is so *false* and so frivolous, that as Saint *Bernard* saith of the fooleries of *Abailardus*, it deserveth rather *Fustibus contundi quàm rationibus refelli*: for *Aristotle* tels us, that the *supreme* Power of all Government (which resideth in every *absolute* Monarch, and doth *constituere Monarcham*, give being unto the Monarch) consisteth chiefly in these three distinct branches:

P. 17, 18, 19, 20.

Aristot. Polyt. l. 4.

The supreme power of every Government wherein it consisteth.

1. *Legislative*, to make and repeal Lawes.
2. *Bellative*, to pronounce War and conclude Peace.
3. *Judicative*, decisively to determine all crimes and causes whatsoever.

And when this *threefold* power is not *penes unum*, but *penes optimates*, then it is no *Monarchie*, but an *Aristocracie*, and when it is *penes populum*, then it is neither of those, but a meer *Democracie*, or popular Government. And therefore our Kings having the *sole* power; first, to make *war*, and conclude *Peace* at their own pleasure, and have called Parliaments onely to supply their *wants*, and to adde their counsell and assistance therein,

therein; Secondly, to make *Lawes* and repeal them when they please, save onely that they promised to their People and obliged themselves not to do it without the advice of their Parliament; And thirdly, to *judge* all their Subjects according to their Lawes; it is most apparent that our Kings are most *absolute* Monarches; as, *Cassaneus*, *Bodinus*, Sir *Thomas Smith*, and all that wrote of this Kingdom do peremptorily affirme: and though I deny not *Bodins* distinction of a *Lordly* Monarch, a *royall* Monarch, and a *tyrannicall* Monarch, which sheweth onely the *Power* and the *Practise* of the Monarch; yet I say, that the distinction of an absolute and mixed *Monarchie*, which designeth the *manner* of the Government, is a meer *fopperie* and a ridiculous distinction; because that Government which extendeth it selfe to *more* than one, can never be a Monarchie, as every man knoweth that understandeth the word Monarch. *Bod. l. 2. c. 2, 3.*

These and many more such injuries and insufferable indignities they have offered unto our *King*, and so indeed unto the *whole* Kingdom, which they durst not have offered to any *tyrannicall* King that would have ruled them with his iron rod, but as the *mercie of God* emboldeneth wicked men to proceed in their abominations, so the *lenitie* and goodnesse of this pious Prince, & nothing else in him, encouraged these factious & ambitious men, the people greedy of a licentious *libertie*, & the Nobilitie and Gentrie of *rule*, which is their naturall disease, thus to *usurpe* the rights of our King, and to raise this miserable war.

CHAP. XII.

Sheweth the unjust proceedings of this Faction against their fellow Subjects, set down in four particular things.

2. Their proceedings against the Subjects, wherein I shall in most

2. LEst they should be thought *juster* to their fellow *Subjects* than they are to their *Soveraigne* King, you may observe what I finde *related* of them. 1. That besides the *Act* which they

points set down what I finde in the Remonstrance of the Commons to the House of Commons, and what I collected out of other Writers of the best credit.

they composed and procured it to passe for the *Poll* money, wherein they shew their exceeding great *love* to the Clergie, as to make Deanes, whose Deanaries were scarce worth 100.l. a piece *per annum*, to pay 40.l. *per poll*, equall with the Lords and Aldermen of *London*, and many Prebendaries to pay more than the annuall worth of their Prebends, and the like many passages of their respect to the Ministers, and some other particulars which I passe without reproof, because the Act is passed; there were monies advanced by *gift* and by *adventure*, and Souldiers were prepared for *Ireland*, to reduce those Rebels to their *former* obedience, and to restore the Kings *distressed* Subjects to their *rights* and possessions; but the great *neglect* they shewed to discharge this dutie, (the Souldiers that were sent, being left almost altogether unpaid, to be *starved*, and exposed to the mercie of their mercilesse enemies, and we the poor *English*, that were *robbed* and spoiled of our goods and lands, left not onely *unrelieved*, but also *twitted* with that scandall for our comfort, that we were *worthily* expelled by the *Irish*, and left unregarded by the *English*, because we were but as the *Samaritanes*, neither *Israelites* nor Pagans, or as the Turkes, that partaking with the *Jewes* and Christians, are neither *Jewes* nor Christians, so the *English* in *Ireland* were just *Laodicean* like, neither hot nor cold, neither *English* nor *Irish*, neither *zealous* Papists, nor *true* Protestants, and therefore worthily to be *spued* out of the mouth of all men; which is the *comfort* we have of them, and which puts us in a *desperate* condition (unlesse his Majestie will be pleased to take another course to relieve us) to be left as a prey to be destroyed betwixt *two* sorts, we know not which more *cruell* enemies) makes us believe that the *monies* are diverted, and the Souldiers detained to continue this *unnaturall* War against our King, that so by loosing the Kingdom of *Ireland*, they might the *sooner* destroy the Kingdom of old *England*, to bring the Kingdom of *New England* amongst us.

1. How they neglected the distressed Subjects of *Ireland*.

And besides this *simple conversion* of the *Irish* monies, it is almost incredible to consider how *unjustly* they have dealt with the *English* Subjects to get money; for, to let abundance of

of other *particulars* paſſe, the Earle of *Mancheſter* in the night time fetched away ſix thouſand pounds, as I underſtand, that were collected for the repairing of Saint *Andrewes* in *Holbourne*, and the great ſummes of money that were gathered for *London-derry* and for *Brainceford*, were imployed by theſe *Zelots*, not to maintaine the *lives* of thoſe diſtreſſed people, but to *deſtroy* the lives of loyall Subiects; and to prove themſelves right *Iſcariots*, they brake into the Hoſpitall at *Gilford* in *Surrey*, and tooke foure thouſand pounds from the poore *Lazars*; but as the *Romans* dealt with their neighbours Territories, when they were made their *Arbitrators*: ſo theſe men dealt as finely with the lading of that Ship called *Sancta Clara*; for while the Merchants *diſputed* about the goods, theſe *iuſt Iudges*, to reconcile the difference, ſeize upon all, and twenty thouſand pound muſt be lent them, before the right owner can receive them: and I might fill my papers with ſuch examples.

ſober ſadneſſe, p. 21.

2. They have made an *Ordinance*, that the twentieth part of mens eſtates, muſt be paid towards the maintenance of this *rebellion*: and they doe appoint *thoſe*, that, upon their diſcretion, ſhall value that twentieth part; and they may, for ought we know, ſet downe the tenth for the twentieth: and if they may *legally* do this we can ſee no reaſon, why by the *ſame* rule, they may not take the fifteenth, tenth, or halfe our goods for the ſame purpoſe: and ſo they avouch they may, but *moſt* untruly: for it was never known, till this preſent parliament, that an *Ordinance* of both Houſes, without the *conſent*, nay *againſt* the command of the King, can bind the *free* Subjects of *England* (which doe not then renounce their *loyalty* to their King, when they make *choyce* of them to be their procurators in the Parliament) in their lives, liberties, or eſtates; and yet theſe men, not only *beſtow* our moneyes as they pleaſe, as they did ſix thouſand pound to their owne Speaker, and the places of command and great *profit* (more then all the *revenues* of their lands come to) upon themſelves, and upon their children and friends, as upon Sir *Iohn Hotham*, the Lord *Rocheford*, Lord *Say*, Lord *Brookes*, *Hampden*, *Brereton*, *Fines*, the Earle of *Eſſex*, and abundance more: but they doe alſo *ſeize* upon our eſtates, and

2. How they take what part they will of our eſtates. Whereas they object that in the raigne of King *Iohn* and others of our kings, the twentyeth, fifteenth, tenth or ſeventh part hath beene given; I anſwer in one word, never a part by the two Houſes without the king, and againſt the king as they doe.

and thus *take* our goods, under the colour of maintaining this warre, to *inrich* themselves and their children; and for the *levying* of this, or what other part they please, they ordaine their *friends*, and appoint their Collectors to *distraine* for the summe assessed, and to sell the distresse, and if no distresse can be found, then the persons of these notable offenders, that *deny* their goods thus *illegally* to be taken from them, are to be *imprisoned*, and their families to be banished from their habitations.

And to make the world believe how *justly* and sufficiently *legall* they could doe this, they made another ordinance for the inhabitants of the Counties of *North-hampton, Rutland, Derby, &c.* to pay the twentieth part, and to be *assessed* by the Assessors that they name, in imitation of the Statute lately made for the foure hundred thousand pound: and it is more than *probable*, that this proceeding is but the *praeludium* of the like exaction to be extended, when their *need* requireth, to all the *other* parts of the Kingdome; which is a most miserable course, and injustice not to be *paralleld*, to cast themselves, into a *necessity* of getting money, to maintaine an *impious* warre against their King, and then out of that necessity to *compell* their fellow subjects, and those *peaceable* men (that doe *abominate* this war,) to maintaine the same (yea, and to *fight* in the same, to *kill* men against their consciences,) in despite of their teeth; or if they *refuse* to doe it, to *send*, or at least to permit, a party of Horse, Dragooneers, and other strength to goe to fetch their *Money*, Plate or other goods, as if they were the goods of the *deadly* enemies of the Common wealth; and this for *none* other reason, but for that the owners thereof are *good* Subjects to the King, and not well affected to their *unjust*, and ungodly proceedings.

But let me perswade all men that doe *feare* God, still to suffer any thing, which they can *not* avoid, from the violence of these *wicked* men, rather than contribute *any* thing unto them, to further such *abominable courses*, as they prosecute against the *law* of God and man; because the Lord commandeth us, *to feare none of those things that we shall suffer*; but to stand in our integrity unto death, and *we shall be crowned with the crowne of life.*

Rev. 2. 10.

3. They

3. They have discharged the Apprentises and servants from their Masters services, and have either *compelled* or perswaded them to serve in their army against the King, and that *without* the consent, and *against* the will of their masters and dames, yea *sometimes* against the commands of their owne *parents*, which I speake from their owne mouthes.

3. How they discharged the apprentices and compell them to fight.

4. They have imprisoned very many hundreds of most *able* and most *honest* men; even so many, that the Prisons are not able to containe them, but they are faine to consecrate the greatest houses in *London* to become Prisons, as the Bishop of *Londons* house, *Ely* house, *Winchester* House, *Lambeth* house; *Crosby* house, the *Savoy*, and the like. And this they doe for *none* other cause, but either for performing the duties of their places, and discharging their *obedience* to his Majesty, as the last Lord Maior *Gurney*, which deserved rather to be commended than committed, if we believe many that were present at his tryall; or petitioning unto them, as *Sir George Bynion*, and Captaine *Richard Lovelace*, and *Sir William Boteler* of *Kent*, because they did not therein *flatter* and approve their present wicked courses; or intending to petition unto the King for reliefe of these lamentable distresses, as those Gentlemen of *Hertford*-shire and *Westminster*; or for being as they conceived, *disaffected* unto their disloyall orders: A strange thing, and iustice beyond president, not the like to be found among the Pagans, that (where no law can condemne a man for his *affections* when no action is committed against law) men shall bee robbed of their *estates*, and adjudged for *malignants* (which is also a crime most generall, and without the compasse of any Statute) and then for this *new* created sinne, to bee condemned and imprisoned, and therein to remaine without *tryall* of his offence, perhaps as long as the Archbishop of *Canterbury*. And this *wonder* is the rather to bee wondered at, because it is the sence of both Houses, (if wee may believe Master *Pym*) that *it is against the rules of iustice, that any man should be imprisoned upon a generall charge, when no particulars are proved against him*: for never charge can be more generall, than to be *ill affected*, or a malignant, or a man not to be confided in, whereof you

4. How they imprisoned our men without cause.

Copmplaint p. 8

M. *Pym* in his Speech at the Guild-hall.

you finde ten thousand in the City of *London*, and many hundred thousands in the Kingdome: and therefore when we finde so many persons of honour and reputation *imprisoned*, only upon this *surmise*, without any other *particular* charge so much as once suggested against them, (as was the Lord of *Middlesex*, the Lord of *Portland*, and abundance more) and detained in prison, because they were ill *affected*, in that they have not contributed to the *maintenance* of this warre, we see how *insensibly* they have *accused* themselves to have laid this insupportable punishment, *beyond* the desert of the transgressors, and *against* the rules of all iustice, and how they have forgotten their *protestation*, and exceedingly infringed the *liberty* of the Subiects, whereof they promised to bee such *faithfull* procurators.

CHAP: XIII.

Sheweth the proceedings of this faction against the Lawes of the Land, the Priviledges of Parliament transgressed eleven speciall wayes.

3. Their proceedings against the lawes.

3. FOr the Lawes of our land, which are either *private*, as those *chiefly* which belong unto the Parliament, and are called the *Priviledges* of Parliament or *publike*, which are the *inheritance* of every Subiect, you shall find how they have invaded and violated each one of these: for,

1. Against the priviledges of Parliament.

1. Touching the *Priviledges* of Parliament, we confesse, that former Kings have *graciously* yeelded many iust priviledges unto them for the freedome of their *persons*, and the liberty of their *speeches*, so they be free from *blasphemy* or *treason*, or the like unpardonable offence, but *such* a freedome as they challenge, though for my selfe I confesse my skill in Law to be unable, to distinguish the *Legitimate* from the *usurped*, yet in these subsequent *particulars* I find wise men *utterly* denying it them: as,

1. When

1. When they forbid us to *dispute* of their Priviledges, and say, that themselves *alone* are the sole Judges of them; when as in *former* ages they have been adjudged by the *Lawes* of the Kingdom, when *Thorpe* the Speaker of the House of Commons hath been committed and detained Prisoner upon an Execution, and the House confirmed that fact.

1. Denying us to dispute of them. L. *Elismer in post nati.*

2. When the Members of the House (of whose *elections* and transgressions against the *House*, or any of their fellow Members, or the like, the *House* is the proper Judge) which ought to have as *free* libertie as *any* of the rest, upon any emergent occasion, are committed, as Master *Palmer*, and others were, or put out of the House, as Sir *Edward Deering*, the Lord *Faulkland*, Sir *John Culpepper*, Sir *John Strangwayes*, and others have been voted hand over head, for speaking more *reason* than the more violent partie could answer, or in very deed, for speaking their mindes *freely* against the *sense* of the House, or rather against some of the *prevalent* Faction of the House, which we say is no *Priviledge* but the pravitie of the House; to denie this *just* Priviledge unto *those* Members that were thus committed or expelled; for hereby it doth manifestly appear that, contrary to the practice of all *former* Parliaments, and contrary to the *honour* of any Parliament, things were herein debated and carried, not by *strength* of argument, but by the *most* voyces, and the *greater* number were so farre from understanding the *validitie* of the alleaged reasons, that after the *Votes* passed they scarce conceived the *state* of the question, but thought it enough to be *Clerkes* to Master *Pym*, and to say *Amen* to Master *Hampden* by an implicite faith.

2. Committing and putting out their Members. Complaint, *p.* 11.

3. When they deny the *Members* of their House, or any *other* imployed by them in this *horrid* Rebellion, should be questioned for *felonie*, *treason*, *murder*, or the *like* capitall crimes, but onely in *Parliament*, or at least by the leave of that *House* whereof they are Members, or which doth imploy them; for by this meanes *any* Member of their House may be a *Traitor*, or a *Murderer*, or a *Robber* whensoever he please, and may *easily* escape, before the partie wronged, or complainant can obtain this *leave* of the House of Commons: and therefore

3. Denying their Members to be legally tried for any capitall crime. *Vide Dyer*, *p.* 59 60. *Crompton.* 8. *b.* 9, 10, 11. *Elism. post. nat.* 11 20, 21. The viewer, *p.* 43.

therefore this is as unreasonable and as *senselesse* a Priviledge as ever was challenged, and was *never* heard of till *this* Parliament: for why should any man refuse his *Triall*, or the House *deny* their Members to the *justice* of the Law, when as the *deniall* of them to be tried by the *Law* implyeth a *doubt* in us of the *innocencie* of those, whom we will not submit to *justice*; and their *Triall* would make them live *gloriously* hereafter, if they were found *innocent*, and move the King to deliver those men, that had so *wickedly* conspired their destruction, to the like *censure* of the Law. But for them to cry out, The King is *misinformed*, and We dare not *trust* our selves upon a *Triall*, may be a way to preserve their *safetie*, but with the losse of their *reputation*, and perhaps the destruction of many thousands of people.

If they say, they are contented to be *tried*, but by their own *House*, which in the time of Parliament is the *highest* Court of justice; it may be answered, said a plain Rustique, with the old Proverbe, *Aske my fellow if I be a thief*: for mine own part, I reverence the *justice* of a Parliament in all *other* judgements betwixt partie and partie, yea betwixt the *King* and any *other* Subject; yet when the partie *accused* shall be judged by his own *Societie*, his *Brethren*, and his own Faction, I believe any *indifferent* Judge would see this to be too great *partialitie* against the King, that he shall not have *those*, whom he accuseth to be tried by the *Lawes* already established, and the ordinary course of Justice; and if the *Judges* offend in their sentence, the Parliament hath *full* power, undenied them by his Majestie, to *question* and to punish those Judges, as they did for that too palpable injustice (as they conceived) in the case of the Ship money; but they will be judged by *themselves*, and all that *dissent* from them must be at their mercie or destruction. And yet it is said to be evident, that no *Priviledge* can have its ground or commencement, unlesse it be by *statute*, *grant*, or *prescription*, and by the *stat. 26. Hen. 8. cap. 13.* it is enacted, that no *offender* in any kinde of high *Treason* shall have the *priviledge* of any manner of *Sanctuarie*: so all the *Grants* of such a priviledge, if any such should be made, are meerly void,

1. *Hen. 7.*

1. *Hen.* 7. *Staffords* case, and not *one instance* could hitherto beproduced, whereby such a *Priviledge* was either *allowed* or *claimed*, but the *contrary* most clearly proved by his Majestie out of *Wentworths* case.

And therefore seeing your own *Law-bookes* tell us, that the *Priviledge* of Parliament doth not extend to *Treason*, the *breach of the Peace*, and (as some thinke) against the *Kings debt*: it is apparent how *grossely* they do abuse the People by this claim of the *Priviledge* of Parliament.

4. When they *connive* with their own compeeres for any breach of priviledge, as with Master *Whitakers* for searching Master *Hampdens* pockets, and taking away his papers, immediately after the *abrupt* breaking up of the *last* unhappy Parliament, and those that *discovered* the names of them that differed in opinion from the rest of the Faction, in the businesse of the Earle of *Strafford*, and specially with that rabble of *Brownists* and Anabaptists, which with unheard of impudencie durst aske that question *publiquely* at the Barre, *who they were that opposed the well affected partie in that House?* as if they meant to be *even* with them, whosoever they were; and likewise that *unruly* multitude of *zealous* Sectaries, that were sent, as I finde it, by Captain *Ven* and *Isaac Pennington*, to cry *Justice, Justice, Justice*, and *No Bishops, no Bishops*; and this to terrifie some of the Lords *from* the House, and to awe the *rest* that should remain in the House, as they had *formerly* done in the case of the Earle of *Strafford*; and when others that they like not, are for the *least* breach of *pretended* Priviledge either imprisoned or expelled; for I assure my selfe, there cannot be *higher* breaches of Priviledges than these be, nor greater *staines* to obscure the *honour*, and vilifie the repute of this Parliament. 4. Conniving with their Faction for any fault.

5. When there is such *siding* and ingaging one another in *civill* causes, (that they may be conglutinated together for their great *Designe*) to do things, not according unto *justice*, but for their own *ends*, contrary to all right; and their *favour* is scarce worth the charge of *attendance*, to them that speed *best* by their Ordinances; but the complaint is that men have 5. The ingaging one another in civill causes.

the *greatest* injuries done them in this that themselves call the highest Court of Justice, which others *say*, hath now justified all other *inferiour* Courts, and made all *unrighteous* Judges most *just*.

6. The surreptitious carrying of businesses.

6. When (as we have been informed) a matter of the *greatest* importance hath been debated and put unto the question, and upon the question determined, and the *Bill* once and again rejected, yet at *another* time, even the third time, when the *Faction* had prepared the House for their own purpose, and knew they could *carry* it by most voyces, the *same* question hath been resumed, and determined quite contrary to the former determination, when the House was more orderly convened; as it is said they did, to passe the Ordinance for the *Militia*, which many men dare *avouch* to their faces to be no *Priviledge* of Parliament, but a great *abuse* of their fellow Members, and a *greater* injurie unto all their fellow Subjects.

7. Their partiall questioning of some men, and not questioning of some others.

7. When the *elections* of some of their Members have been questioned, and others have been accused, for no lesse than *capitall* crimes, (as Master *Griffith* was) yet if these men *incline* and conspire with *this* Faction to confirme those *positions*, which they proposed to themselves, to overthrow the Church and State, and to uphold their *usurped* Government and tyrannicall Ordinances, they will pretend twenty excuses; as the *great* affaires of the State, the *multiplicitie* of their businesses, the *necessitie* of procuring monies, the *shortnesse* of their time, (though they sate almost three yeares already) that they have no leisure to determine these questions (which in truth they do *purposely* put off, least they should leese such a *friend* unto their partie;) but when any other, which *dissenteth* from their humours, doth but any thing contrary to the *straitest* Rules of the House, they do presently (notwithstanding all their *greatest* affaires) call *that* matter into question, and it must be examined and followed with that *eagernesse* (as in my Lord *Digby*'s case) that he must be *forthwith* condemned and excluded; for we say, this cannot be any *just* priviledge, but an *unjust* proceeding of this Parliament.

The L. *Digby* in his Apolog.

8. When they delegate their power to *some* men to do some

some things of *themselves* without the *rest*; as it seemes they did unto Master *Pym*, when an Order passed under his *sole* teste, for taking away the *Rayles* from the Communion Table; for this is a course we never heard of in former times.

8. The delegating of their power to particular men.

9. When their *Priviledges* are so *infinitely* grown and inlarged, more than ever they were in *former* Parliaments, and so swelled, that they have now *swallowed* up almost all the priviledges of *other* men; so that they *alone* must do *what* they please, and *where* they will, in all *Cities* and in all *Courts*, because they have the *Priviledge* of Paliament.

9. The multiplying of their Priviledges.

10. When according, to the great *libertie* of language, which we deny them not within their own wall, they take the *Priviledge* to speak what they *list* in other places, and to governe other *Courts* as they please, where (as they did in *Dublin*, and do commonly in *London*) they sit as Assistants with them, that are priviledged by their *Charters* to be freed from such Controllers.

10. Their speaking and sitting in other Courts.

11. When, above *all* that hath been or can be spoken, they have made a *close* Committee of safetie, (as they call it) which in the apprehension of all *wise* and *honest* men, is not *onely* a course most *absurd* and illegall, but *also* most destructive to all *true* Priviledges, and contrary to the *equitable* practice of all *publique* meetings, that *any* one should be excluded from that which concerneth *him* as well as any of the rest; and this Committee *onely*, which consisteth of a *very* few of the most *pragmatical* Members of their House, must have all intelligences and *privie* counsels received, and reserved among themselves; and what *they* conclude upon must be *reported* to the House, which must take all that *they* deliver upon *trust*, and with an *implicite* Roman faith *believe* all that they say, and *assent* to all that they do; onely because these (forsooth) are men to be *confided* in, upon their *bare word*, (when their House hath no power to administer an *Oath* unto any man) in the *greatest* affaires, *happinesse* or *destruction* of the whole Kingdom; for this is, in a manner, to make *these* men Kings, more than the *Roman* Consuls, and so as *great* a breach of Priviledge and *abuse* of Parliament, as *derogatory* to his Majestie, that called them to consult together, and as *injurious* to all the people as can be named or imagined.

11. Their close Committee.

The greatnesse of this abuse.

CHAP. XIV.

Sheweth how they have tranſgreſſed the publike lawes of the Land three wayes, and of foure miſerable conſequences of their wicked doings.

2. Againſt the publike laws of the land.

2. FOr thoſe publike, written, and better known laws of this Land, they have no leſſe *violated* and tranſgreſſed the ſame than the other, and that, aſwell in their *execution* and *expoſition*, as in their *compoſition*; for,

1. In the execution of the old lawes.

1. When they had cauſed the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* to be committed to the Tower, Judge *Berkeley* to the Sheriffe of *London*, ſir *George Ratcliffe* to the Gate-houſe, for no leſſe crimes than high Treaſon, and many other men to ſome other priſons for ſome other faults; yet all the world ſeeth how *long* moſt of them have beene kept in priſon, ſome a yeare, ſome two, ſome almoſt three, and God *onely* knoweth when theſe men intend to bring them to their legall tryall; which delay of *iuſtice*, is not only an intolerable abuſe to the preſent ſubiects of this kingdome, to be ſo *long* deprived of their liberty upon a bare ſurmiſe, but alſo a far greater iniury to all poſterity, when this preſident ſhall be produced to be imitated by the *ſucceeding* Parliaments, and to iuſtifie the delayes of all inferiour Iudges.

2 In expounding the lawes.

2. Whereas wee believe what judge *Bracton* ſaith and Judge *Britton* likewiſe, which lived in the time of *Edward* the firſt, *Si diſputatio oriatur, juſticiarii non poſſunt eam interpretari, ſed in dubiis & obſcuris, Domini regis erit expectanda interpretatio & voluntas, cum ejus ſit interpretari cujus eſt condere*; if any diſpute doth ariſe, the Judges can not interpret the ſame, but in all *obſcure* and doubtfull queſtions, the *interpretation* and the will of the King is to be expected, when as he that makes the law, is to bee the expounder and interpreter of the law; yet they have challenged and aſſumed to themſelves *ſuch* a power, that their bare *Vote* without an *act* of Parliament,

Citatur a Domino Eliſm in poſt-nati, p. 108

ment, may expound or alter a knowne law; which if it were ſo, they might make the law, as *Pighius* ſaith of the Scripture, like a noſe of wax, that may bee faſhioned and bended as they pleaſed; but we doe *conſtantly* maintaine, that the Houſe of Commons hath no power to *adjudge* of any point or matter, but to informe the Lords what they conceive; and the Houſe of Peeres hath the power of *Judicature*, which they are bound to doe, according to the rules of the knowne eſtabliſhed lawes; and to that end they have the *Judges* to informe them of thoſe caſes, and to *explaine* thoſe lawes, wherein themſelves are not ſo well experienced, (though now they ſit in the Houſe for cyphers, even as ſome Clergie did *many* times in the Convocation;) and if any former Statute be ſo *intricate* and obſcure, that the *Judges* cannot well agree upon the *right* interpretation thereof, then (as in explaining *Poynings Act*, and the like, either in *England* or *Ireland*) the *makers* of the Act, that is the *King* and the *major* part of both Houſes, muſt explaine the ſame.

3. Whereas we never knew that the Houſe had any power to make *Orders* and Ordinances to *bind* any, (beſides their own members,) to obſerve them as lawes; yet they compell us to obey their orders, in a *ſtricter* manner than *uſually* we are injoyned by Law; and this courſe, to make ſuch binding ordinances as they doe, to carry the *force*, though not *the name* of an Act of Parliament, or a Law, is a *mighty* abuſe of our lawes and liberties; for Sir *Edward Cooke* tels us plainly, that (as the conſtitution of our Government now ſtandeth,) neither the Houſe of Commons and the King, can make any binding law, when the *Peeres* diſſent; nor the Lords and King, when the *Commonalty* diſſenteth; nor yet both Houſes without the *Kings* conſent; but all *three*, King, Peeres and Commons, muſt agree, before any *coactive* law can be compoſed: Nay more, it is ſufficiently proved, that *dare jus populo*, or the *legislative* power, being one *principall* end of regall authority, was in Kings by the law of nature, (while they governed the people by *naturall* equity) long before municipall lawes or Parliaments had any being; for as the *Poet* ſaith,

3. In compoſeing and ſetting forth new laws

L. *Cooke* in the preface of the Stat. of Weſtminſter the ſecond. *Lamberts Archeion* 271.

Rhemo

Virgilius.

Remo cum fratre Quirinus ——jura dabat.
Hoc Priami gestamen erat, cum jura vocatis
more daret populis———

Because this was the custome of the Kings of *Scythia*, *Assyria*, *Ægypt*, *&c.* (long before *Moses* and *Pharonans*, when *municipall* lawes first began,) to give lawes unto their people, according to the rules of *naturall* equity, which by the law of nature they were all bound to observe.

And though some Kings did *graciously* yeeld and by their *voluntary* oathes, for themselves and their successors, binde themselves many times, to *stricter* limits, then were *absolutely* requisite, as *William Rufus*, King *Stephen*, *Henry* the fourth, *Richard* the third, and the like, granted many *priviledges*, perhaps to gaine the favour of their Subjects, against those which likely had a better title to the Crowne than themselves: or, it may be, to satisfie their people, as the guerdon or compensation for the sufferance of some fore-passed grievances, as *Henry* the first, *Edward* the second, *Richard* the second, and the like: yet these *limitations*, being agreeable to equity, and consistent with Royalty, and not forcibly extracted, ought in all truth and reason to be observed by them. And hence it is that the Kings of this Realme, according to the oathes and promises which they made at their Coronation, can never *give*, nor repeale any law, but with the assent of the Peeres and People.

But though they have thus yeelded, to *make* no lawes, nor to repeale any lawes without them; yet this *voluntary* concession of so much grace unto the people, doth no wayes translate the *legislative* power from the King unto his assistants, but that it is *formaliter* and *subiectivè* still in the King, and not in them; else would the government of this Kingdome bee an *Aristocracy*, or *Democracy*, and not a *Monarchy*; because the supreame power of making and repealing Lawes, and *governing* or judging decisively according to those lawes, are two of those three things, that give being to each *one* of these three sorts of government.

Cassan. in catal gloria mundi.

Therefore, the King of *England*, being an *absolute* Monarch, in his owne Kingdome, as *Cassanens* saith, and no man can deny it:

it the *legislative power* must needs reside *solely* in the King, *ut in subjecto proprio*; and the *consent* of the Lords and Commons is no sharing of that power, but only a *condition* yeelded to be observed by the King, in the use of that power: and so, both the *Oath* of Supremacy, and the *form* of all our ancient Statutes, wherein the King speakes as the Lawmaker, doe most evidently prove the same unto us, *Le Roy voit*. 22 Ed. 3. 3. pl. 25. *Vid.* The view of a printed booke, entituled, Observations, &c. where this point is proved at large p. 18, 19, 21, 32.

Neither durst any Subjects in *former* times either *assume* such a power unto themselves, or *deny* the same unto their King: for you may finde how the House of Commons, *denying* to passe the Bill for the *pardon* of the Clergy, which *Hen.* 8. granted them, when they were all charged to be in a *Premunire*, unlesse themselves also might be included within the pardon, received this answer from the King, that *he was their Soveraigne Lord, and would not be compelled to shew his mercy*, (nor indeed could they compel him to any thing else) but seeing they went about to restraine him of his Liberty, he would grant a *pardon* unto his Clergie by his great Seale *without them*; though afterwards of his owne accord he signed their pardon also; which brought great commendation to his *judgement*, to deny it at first, when it was demanded *as a right*, and to grant it afterward, when it was received *as of grace*. And yet the *denial* of their assent unto the King, is more *equitable* to them, and lesse *derogatory* to him, then to make orders without him; and this manner of compulsion, to shew grace unto themselves is more tolerable, than to *force* him to disgrace and displace his most *faithfull* servants; onely becaus others cannot *confide* in them, when no *criminall* charge is laid against them. Sir *Rich. B* ... *in vita Her* ...

And therefore for the Lords and Commons to make *Orders* and Ordinances *without* the King, and in *opposition* to the King, is a meere *usurpation* of the Regall power, a *nullifying* of the Kings power, and a making of the *Royall* assent, which heretofore gave *life* to every law, to be an *empty* piece of formality, which is indeed, an intolerable *arrogancy* in the contrivers of these Orders and the makers of these Ordinances, a monstrous *abuse* of the Subjects, and a plaine making of our good King

to be ſomewhat like him in the Comedy, *a King and no King.*

And, where as no *Subjett*, and under favour be it ſpoken, nor the *King* himſelfe, after he hath taken his *Oath* at his Coronation, is free from the *obſervation* of the eſtabliſhed lawes; yet they make themſelves ſo farre *above* the reach of Law, that they freed him, which the Lord *chiefe* Juſtice *Bramſton* had committed to *Newgate* for felony in ſtealing the Counteſſe of *Rivers* goods; they hindered all men, as we found in their journall, from proceeding againſt Sir *Thomas Dawes*; they injoyned the *Judges* by their orders, to forbeare to proceed in their ordinary courſes, in the Courts of Juſtice, contrary to the *oaths* of thoſe Judges; and ſome *Parliament* men came to the Bench to forbid the Judges to grant *Habeas Corpuſes*, which is as great an *iniquity*, and as apparent an *injuſtice* as ever was done by any *Parliament*.

The moſt abominable wickedneſſe of theſe factious Rebels

And that which is a note above *Ela*, above all that could be ſpoken, whereas the *Law* of God and man, the bonds and obligations of *civility* and *Chriſtianity*, tie us all to be *dutifull* and obedient unto our King, in *all* things, either *actively* or *paſſively*, and no *wayes*, for no *cauſe* violently to *reſiſt* him, under the *greateſt* penalties that can be deviſed here, and damnation hereafter; yet theſe men, contrary to *all* Lawes, doe *injoyne* us and compell us, as much againſt our *conſciences*, as if they ſhould compell us with the *Pagan tyrants*, to offer Sacrifice unto Idols, to war againſt our moſt gracious Soveraigne, whom we from our hearts doe both love and honour, and they proſcribe us as *malignants*, and as enemies to the *Common* wealth, if we contribute not money, horſe and armes, to maintaine this ungodly war, and ſo become *deadly enemies* unto our owne ſoules. *O conſider this yee that forget God*, leſt for tearing us, *he teare you in pieces while there is none to helpe you*: for conſidering what the Apoſtle ſaith, *Rom.* 13. 1. 2. And what Saint *Auguſtine* ſaith, *ordo naturalis, mortalium paci accommodatus hoc poſcit, ut ſuſcipiendi belli authoritas atque conſilium penes Principem ſit*; and leſt men ſhould thinke, they ought by force of armes to reſiſt their king for religion, he anſwereth that objection by the example of the Apoſtles, *iſti non reſiſtendo interfecti ſunt, ut potio-*

Pſ. 50. 22. *Auguſt. contra. Fauſt. l.* 22. *c.* 75. 76.

rem

rem esse docerent victoriam, pro fide veritatis occidi. We conceive this to be so *execrable* an act, and so *odious* to God and man, that we are made thus miserable, and abused beyond measure, to have our *Religion*, which is most glorious, our *Laws*, that in their own nature are most excellent, and our *Liberties*, that make us as free as any Subjects in the World, under *false* pretences, and the shadows of religion, lawes and liberties, to be eradicated, and fundamentally destroyed; whereby,

The miserable consequences of their wicked doings.

1. We are made a spectacle of scorne, and the object of derision to our neighbour Nations, that formerly have envied at our happinesse; and we are become the subject of all pitty and lamentation, to all them that love us.

1 Mischefe.

2. As in the *Roman* civill wars, in the time of *Metellus*, the the son did kill his own Father; so now by the subtilty of this faction, we are cast into such a war as it.

2 Mischife.

1. A most unnaturall War, the *son* against the *Father*, and the *Father* against the *Son*: the Earle of *Warwick* fighteth for the Parliament, and my Lord *Rich* his Son is with the King: the Earle of *Dover* is with the King, and my Lord *Rochford* his Sonne with the Parliament: so one brother against another, as the Earle of *Northumberland* with the Parliament, and his brother with the King; the Earle of *Bedford* with the Parliament and his brother with the King; Master *Perpoint* with the Parliament, and the Earle of *Newark* with the King; *Devereux Farmer* with the parliament, and his brother *Thomas farmer*, together with his brother in law my Lord *Cockain* with the King, and the like: and of *Cosens* without number, the one part with the King, and the other with the parliament: and if they doe this in *subtilty* to preserve their estate, I say it is a wicked *policy* to undoe the kingdom, which all wise men should consider:

2. A most *irreligious* war, when one *Christian*, of the same professed religion, shal bath his Sword, and wash his hands in the bloud of his fellow Christian, and his fellow protestant, that shal be coheire with him of the same Kingdome.

3. A most *unnaturall*, *irreligious*, and *barbarous* Warre, when the *Subject* shall shal take Armes, to destroy or unthrone

throne their owne liege, a *Religious* and moſt *gracious* King.

3 Miſchiefe. 3. The *Service* of God in moſt Churches is neglected, when almoſt all the *ableſt*, graveſt, and moſt Orthodox Divines and Preachers are *perſecuted*, plundered, impriſoned, and driven to fly (as in the time of the *Arian* or *Donatiſt*, which was worſe than the heathen perſecution) from City to City, & to wander in Deſarts from place to place, to ſave themſelves from the hands of theſe *Rebels* againſt the King, and *perſecuters* of Gods Church: which is a moſt *grievous* and a moſt *cruell* perſecution, far more generall than that of the Anabaptiſts in Germany, or of Queene *Mary* here in England: the Lord of Heaven make us *conſtant*, and give us *patience* to indure it.

4 Miſchiefe. 4. The *whole* Kingdome is, and ſhall be yet more, by the continuance hereof, unſpeakably *impoveriſh'd*, and plunged into all kind of miſeries; when the Travailer cannot paſſe without feare, *nec hoſpes ab hoſpite tutus*, the Carrier cannot tranſport his *commodity*, but it ſhall be intercepted, the Husbandman cannot till his ground, but his horſes, as my ſelfe ſaw it, ſhall bee taken from the Plough, and his Corne ſhall bee deſtroyed when it is ready for the Sickle, which muſt be the fore-runner of a famine, that is ever the Uſher to introduce the Plague and Peſtilence, and all other kind of grievous Diſeaſes; and theſe things put together, doe ſet wide our gates, and open our ports, to bring *forraigne* foes into our Coaſts, to poſſeſſe that good Land, whereof we are unworthy; becauſe with the Iſraelites we *loathed Manna*, we were weary of our *peace* and happineſse; we would *buy* armes and be *volantiers*, and every Town being too *wanton*, would needs traine and put themſelves into a *poſture* of defence, as they termed it, to be ſecured from their owne *ſhadows*; and though the King told them *often*, there was no *cauſe* of their Jealouſies, and therefore *forbade* theſe diſloyalties; yet juſt like the Jewes they were *willing* to be deceived by this *miſerable* faction, that contrived that *Act* whereby they have *perfidiouſly* over-reached both our good King, and the reſt of our wel-meaning brethren, either to perfect their deſigne, or elſe, to make themſelves perpetuall Dictators, and to betray the *felicity* of all our people, under the name

name of Parliament; which though (as I said before) I *honour* and love, as much as any of the *truest* Patriots of either House, both in the *institution* and the right prosecution thereof, that is, as it was constituted, to be the great Councell of the Kingdome *graciously* called by his Majesties writ, *confidently* to present the grievances of the people, and humbly to offer their advice and counsels for their reformation; yet I doe abhorre those men, that would abuse the *word* Parliament, only as a stalking-Horse to destroy all *Acts* of Parliament; and I *hate* to see men calling the *fanatique* actions of a few desperate seditious persons, *the proceedings of Parliament*, and others (making an *Idol* of it, as if their power were *omnipotent* or unlimited and more than any regall power, their judgement *infallible*, their Orders irreprehensible, and themselves *unaccountable* for their proceedings) to be so besotted with the *name* of it, that this bare *shadow* without the substance, for it is no Parliament without the King; and the *Major* part of both houses is either banished, or imprisoned, or compelled to reside with his Majesty) should so *bewitch* us, (as Master *Smith* blushed not to say, nothing could free us from our dangers but the Divinity of a Parliament) out of our owne happinesse to become more miserable, then heretofore this Kingdome hath ever beene by any civill War: for if you will consider, the Treasons and rebellions, the injustice, cruelty and inhumanity, the subtilty, hypocrisie, lying, swearing, blasphemy, prophanesse and Sacriledge in the highest pitch, and many other the like fearefull sins, that have been committed since the beginning of this Parliament, by the sole meanes of this faction, and observe the ill acts that have beene used by them to compasse things *lawfull*, and the *wicked* acts that have beene daily practised to procure things unlawfull (when by bloud and rapine and the *curses* of many fatherlesse and widowes, they have gotten the Treasures of the Kingdome, and the wealth of the Kings loyall Subjects into their hands, and wasted it so, that their wants are still as notorious as their crimes) wee may admire the miracles of Gods mercy, and the bottomlesse depth of his goodnesse,

Ingeniosus ad blasphemiam.

neſse, that the *stones* in the streets have not risen against them, or the *fire* from Heaven had not consumed these Rebels, that thus *far* and thus *insolently* had tempted Gods *patience*, and provoked him to *anger* with such horrible abominations.

The fifth mischiefe.

5. As *Jerusalem* justified *Samaria*, so this Faction hath justified all the *Romanists*, and shewed themselves worse Christians, lesse Subjects, and viler Traitors than all the Papists are; for these factious rebels justifie their Rebellion, and to the indeleble shame of their profession, they maintain that it is not only lawfull, but that it is their duty to bear Armes, and to wage War against their King, when the King doth abuse his power: whereas the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome* * utterly denieth the same, and concludes them no Children of the Church that do it: and Doctour *Kellison* giveth this reason for it, because Faith is not necessarily required to Jurisdiction or Government; neither is authority lost by the losse of Faith; therefore it is not lawfull for any Subjects to rebel against their King, though their King should prove a Tyrant, or should apostate from the Faith of Christ; so that now the Papists boast, they are better Subjects than these rebellious protestants: and therefore I fear that this Faction

(*Defendens Christum, verso mucrone cecidit*)

By their unjust designe to propagate the Gospell, have most grievously wounded the Faith of Christ, and given a more deadly blow to the protestant religion than ever it had since the reformation when it is impossible that the true religion should produce, rebellion.

And therefore seeing we are *free* borne Subjects, and persons *interessed* in the good and safety of this Kingdome, as well as any of them, we must crave *liberty* to expresse our *grievances*, and to crave *redresses*; and seeing my selfe am called to be a *Preacher of* Gods Word, and a *Bishop* over many of the soules of my brethren, for which I must render an *account* to my God, both for my *silence* when I should speake, and *speaking* any thing that should not be spoken, I resolved to feare my God, and neither out of *flattery* to the King and his party, nor out of *hatred* or malice to those *factious* men, but as I am perswaded

* *Christopherson. tract. contr. rebell. Rhemist. in Nov. Test.* p. 301. *Goldastus de Monarchia S. Imper. Rom. to.* 3. Dr. *Kellison* in his Survey. *Aquin de Regim. Princip. c.* 6. *Concil. Constan Sess.* 15. *Stephan. Cantuar. Anno.* 8. *H.* 3. *Tolet. in summa. l.* 5. *c.* 6. *Gr. Valentia. p.* 2. *q.* 64. *Bellar. Apol. c.* 13. *Lessius l.* 2. *c.* 9. *Serrarius. Azorius, &c.*

ded in my conscience, *fully* satisfied and guided by Gods Truth, to set forth this *discoverie of these mysteries*, what danger soever I shal undergoe; and if I shal become their *enemy* for speaking *truth*, I shal fare no worse than S. *Paul* did; and it shal be with them, if they doe not repent, as it was with the Israelites, *When their destruction commeth, they shal seeke peace, and shal not have it, but calamitie shal come upon calamitie.* Ezek. 7 25, 27.

CHAP. XV.

Sheweth a particular recapitulation of the Reasons, whereby their Designe to alter the Government of the Church and State is evinced; and a patheticall dissuasion from Rebellion.

AND thus I have set down not *any* thing to render these men more *odius* then they are, or to *abuse* my Reader with *falshood* or uncertainties, but to report what I *knew*, and what I collected out of the present writings of *best* credit, and attested by men of *known* truth and integrity, whereby it is most *apparent* to any discerning eye, that the faction of *Anabaptists*, and *Brownists*, and some other of the subtilleſt heads in the House of Commons, had from the *first* convention of this Parliament *secretly* projected this designe, and *insensibly* to the rest of their wel-meaning brethren, prosecuted the same, to *alter* and change the ancient government both of the *Church* and *Kingdom*, which the author of *Sober sadnesse* proveth by these subsequent reasons: as (for the first,)

If I have beene mis-informed of any thing that shall appeare false, I shall not bluſh to retract it by an ingenious confession.

Sober Sadnes, p. 44, 45, 46.

1. By suspending all *Ecclesiasticall* lawes and censures; which *indulgence* of all vices hath drawn all *offendours* to comply with them.

Their designe to change the Church Government, proved 4 waies.

2. By setting the people on worke to *petition* against the *present* Government, and the Service of the Church.

3. By the Bill concluded for the abolishing of our *Government*.

4. By

4. By the *chiefe* persons countenanced and employed by them in that businesse, who are *Anabaptists* and *Brownists*, and all sorts of Sectaries; he evinceth their designe to *change* our our Church Government, and to convert the *patrimony* of the Church, which our religious *Ancestors* dedicated for the advancement of Gods worship, not to establish *learning* and a preaching Ministery as they pretended, but to dis-ingage their *publique* faith, which otherwise would never prove a saving faith.

And I wish there might be none about His Majesty, that pretending *great* loyalty unto him, doe *comply* with them herein, and either to *raise* or to *secure* their owne fortunes, would perwade S. *Paul* to part with S. *Peters* keyes, so he may still hold the *sword* in his hand; or to speake more *plainly*, to purchase the *peace* of the Common-wealth with the *ruine* of Gods Church: but for this let me be bold,

1. To crave leave to tell His Majesty, it was not His *sword* that hath brought him from a *flying* Prince out of *Westminster*, and as yet unsecured at *Nottingham*, to be a *victorious* King at *Edge-hill*, and immediately to be the *terrour* of all the Rebels in *London*; but it was *God*, whose *Church* and Church-*Service* he defended, that *protected* him hitherto, and *gave him the victory in battaile*, and let him be assured that he, *which is yea and amen*, wil be his *shield* and buckler stil, to defend him from the *strivings* of his people, and to *subdue* them that rise against him, *while* he defendeth them, whose *eyes* next under God, are onely fixt on him, to be as God hath promised, their *nursing father*.

2. To assure those that would suffer the Church to *fall*, or perhaps *sell* the same out of a *by-respect* unto themselves, that taking their *rise* from the *fall* of the Church, or laying the *foundation* of their *houses* in the ruine of the Clergy, they doe but build upon the *sands*, whence they shal *fall*, and their *fall shal be great*, when the *successe* thereof shal be as the successe of the City of *Iericho*, that was built by *Hiel*, who *laid the foundation of it in Abiram his first borne, and set up the gates thereof in Segub his youngest sonne*, and had her destiny described by *Iosuna*;

1 Reg. 16, 34. Iosh. 6, 26.

Joshua; and all the *possessions* that they shall get, shall prove *Acheldama's*, fields of blood; and we hope God will raise *deliverance* to his Church from some better men, when as *they and their fathers house* shall all perish, and shall *stink* in the nostrils of all *good* men for their perfidiousnesse in Gods cause.

But if any man should demand why we *suspect* any *Traytors* or false Counsellors to be in Kings *Courts*: I answer, because Saint *Paul* saith, *Oportet esse hæreses*; and I beleeve the purest *Court* hath no more *priviledge* to be free from Traytors, then the *Church* from Heretiques; and you know there was one of *eight* in *Noahs* Arke, and another of *twelve* in Christ his *Court*; and he that was so *neare* him, as to dip his hand with him in the dish, was the *first* that flew in his face, and yet with *a hayle Master*, and with a kisse: two fair testimonies of true love.

Therefore, let no King in *Christendome* thinke it strange that his *Court* should have *Flatterers*, Traytors, or evill Counsellors; let not us be blamed for saying this; and let not *Pym* so *foolishly* charge our King for evil Counsellors; for *certainly* did he *know* them, I make no question but he would *discard* them: or could I, or any other informe his Majestie who they are, and that it were an easie matter, *dicier, hic est*; we would not be *affraid* to pull off their *vails*, and to say, as Christ did to *Judas, Thou art the man*; but their *Maandrian* windings, their *Syrens* voices, and their *Judas* kisses, are as a faire mantle, to conceale and cover *Ioabs* treason, even perhaps to betray some of the wisest in the Parliament, as well as some of them have betrayed the King. In such a case, all I can say is this; *Memento diffidere* was *Epicharmus* his Motto; the honest *plaine* dealing man that doth things for *Religion*, not for *ends*, is the *unlikeliest* man to betray his Master; and *few* Counsellors are not so apt to breed so many Traytors as a *multitude*; it was the indiscretion of *Rehoboam* that lost him ten parts of twelve, to preferre *young* Counsellors before the *ancient* *, and if we may beleeve that either *paupertas*, or *necessitas cogit ad turpia*, or the *fable* of the ulcerated traveller, They that are to *make* their fortunes are apter to *sell* Church and State, and to betray

* Seldome discretion in youth attendeth great and sudden fortunes. *In vita Henric.* 3.

betray King and Kingdom, rather then those that have *sufficiently* repleniſhed their coffers, and inlarged their poſſeſſions. But I aſſure my ſelfe the mouth of malice cannot deny, but that our King hath been as wary and as wiſe in the choice of his Servants, Officers, and Counſellors, ſo far as eyes of fleſh can ſee, in all reſpects, as in any Prince in Chriſtendom, and more by man cannot be done.

Their deſigne to change the Government of the State, ſhewed.

And for the *ſecond*, that is, their *deſigne* to change the Government of the *State*, and to work the ſubverſion of the Monarchie: he evinceth it,

1. Way.

1 By that *Declaration* upon the Earle of *Straffords* ſuffering, that this *example* might not be drawn to a *preſident* for the future; becauſe they thought that themſelves, intending to do the *like*, and to become guilty of the *ſame* crimes, might by vertue of this *Declaration* be ſecured from the puniſhment, if things ſhould ſucceed otherwiſe then they hoped.

2. Way.

2 By the pulling down of ſo many *Courts* of Juſtice, which may perhaps *relieve* the Subjects from ſome preſſures, but *incourage* many more in licentiouſneſſe, and prove the *Prodromes* to the ruine of our Monarchie.

3. Way.

The Letter. p. 11.

3 By thoſe 19. *Propoſitions*, whereby the King was in very deed, demanded to lay downe his *Crowne*, and to *compound* with them for the ſame; becauſe (as another ſaith) therein, there was preſented to him a perfect *platforme* of a totall change of Government, by which the *Counſellors*, indeed, were to have been *Kings*, and the King in name to have become *ſcarce* a Counſellor, and nothing of the *preſent* State to have remained, but the very *names* and titles of our Governours.

4. Way.

4 By that *expreſſion* (ſo little underſtood by many men, and yet ſo much talked of in many of their papers) of a power of *re-aſſuming* the truſt, which is *falſly* pretended to bee derived unto his Majeſtie, by the meere humane *pactions* and agreement of the *politique* body of the people, which I ſhewed unto you to be a moſt *falſe* and a meere *invented* ſuggeſtion.

5. Way.

5 By their *pretending* to, and according to this doctrine their

their *uſurping* of the power of the *Militia* both by ſea and land.

6 By their *actuall* exerciſing of this power, in diſpoſing of *Offices*, Generals, Colonels, Captains, and the like places of command in War, and appointing their *Speaker* Maſter of the Rolls, and other Officers of Peace. 6. Way.

7 By the *expreſſion* of one of them to Sir *Edward Dering*, while he was yet of their *Cabinet* Counſell, that if they could bring down the *Lords* to the Houſe of Commons, and make the *King* as one of the Lords, then the *whole* worke were done; that is, to make the *Government* of this Kingdom popular. 7. Way.

8 I may adde to theſe, as another *unanſwerable* Argument of this Deſigne, the licencing of Maſter *Pryn's* Book of *The ſoveraigne Authoritie of Parliaments*, and ſuffering the ſame to paſſe *unqueſtioned* to this very day; becauſe that Booke *deveſteth* the King of all his *Soveraigntie*, and maketh our Government *Ariſtocraticall*. 8. Way.

And this *ſubverſion* of our *Monarchicall* Government was the *laſt* Deſigne, if not the *grand* Deſigne of this Faction: not that *all* the Members, which have voted *all* or *moſt* of thoſe things that tended to this change, or be ſtill *remaining* in either Houſe, did *intend* any ill either to *Church* or *State* (for I know many, eſpecially my ever honoured Lord, the Earle of *Pembroke* and *Montgomery*, who, I dare avouch it in *truth* and honeſtie, did ever, and as I beleeve doth ſtill bear a moſt *upright* heart, and as *ſincere* intentions (how ſoever perhaps by a *miſunderſtanding* his Lordſhip and the *reſt* of thoſe well meaning men may be miſguided, as were thoſe *honeſt* men that followed *Abſolon*) both to Gods *Service*, the Kings *Honour*, and the *happineſſe* both of Church and Common-wealth, as *any* man in the Kingdom) but that a *Faction*, it may be very *few* at firſt, have *inſenſibly* ſeduced the *reſt* to effect their own Deſigne; and this *Faction* is all that I mean by the name of Parliament, throughout this whole Treatiſe; becauſe their *ſubtiltie* hath prevailed over the plain *integritie* of the other well-minded men, to make up the *major* part of the Houſe, both of the

Lords and Commons; which thing hath often happened both in *Generall* Councels, and great *Parliaments*, as in the Councel of *Conſtans* and *Trent*, and many others, and that Parliament which was branded with the name of *Parliamentum inſanum*, and the other ſomewhat like this, *in quo jugulum Eccleſiæ atrociùs petebatur*, and the like; for otherwiſe, I do both *honour*, and reverence *this* Parliament *rightly* underſtood, and every *Member* of the ſame, as much as any *diſcreet* Member can deſire.

Tempore Hen. 3.

And therefore having thus *diſcovered* and diſplayed the *Plots* and practices of theſe *infernall* inſtruments, to inſinuate their *aſſiſtance* unto the *Scots*, and their allurements of them to *invade* our Kings Dominions; to enſnare the *Iriſh*, and to provoke the *Papiſts*, to ſuch a *Rebellion* as hath been the utter *ruine* and deſtruction of many *millions* of men; to obſcure the *glory* of this noble Kingdome, to alter the *Diſcipline*, and corrupt the *Doctrine* of the moſt glorious and the *pureſt* Church, that profeſſeth the Name of Chriſt, and to bring us all, and all our poſteritie to *extreme* miſeries, to ſuffer yet *more* then we have endured, or that can be hitherto imagined; and conſidering thoſe bloody *Treaſons* that have beene publikely uttered and openly practiſed againſt the ſacred *Perſon* of our Soveraigne; I may juſtly ſay, that as the ſinnes of the *Iſraelites*, and their *impetuous* calling for a King, moved the Lord to *ſend them a King in his anger*; ſo our *ſinnes*, and our impatient crying for a *Parliament*, made our God to ſend us a Parliament *in his wrath*, that will never turne for our *bleſſing* till we returne to God from our ſinnes; for when I conſider on the one ſide, the *pietie* and goodneſſe of our King, the *juſtneſſe* of his cauſe, and the moſt *ready* and cordiall valour, as well in the *common* Souldiers as the *Commanders* of a full and ſufficient Armie; and on the *other* ſide, the *multitude* of diſloyall and ſeduced Subjects, the *vigilancie* and ſubtiltie of their Commanders, with their *unlimited* wayes to get monies; and on both ſides, the deſire of *too* many, not for the *honour* of the King, nor the *peace* of the Kingdome to *end* the War, but to *continue* the ſame for their own advantage, untill the *wealth* of Lawyers, Clergie,

Clergy, and Gentrie, be transplanted to the possessions of *other* Masters, I am affraid it wil prove an *heavie* judgement; and therfore, lest our *obstinacie* in our sinnes should procure the *continuance* of Gods anger, which being *removed* will soone remove all our miseries; let me perswade all conscientious men, especially the *Gentry*, and all other *understanding* men, (howsoever the Citizens that deceive the Kingdome of their *wealth*, delight to be deceived in their *faith*) that would not be *cheated* of their Religion by these *factious* Mountebankes, and that would not provoke God to say, *I have no pleasure in them*, to turne from their *rebellious* courses, to listen no *longer* to those *furious* fire-brands, that out of their *new* Divinity, contrary to the Doctrine of all the *ancient* Fathers, and all the *Orthodox* and grave Preachers of this Kingdome, do *incite* the People unto this *unnaturally* bloody War, and *to slander the foot-steps of Gods Anointed*; because they know him not, and to remember the *Oathes* of their *Allegiance* and *Supremacie*, together with their late *Protestation*, whereby they stand obliged to their *uttermost* power to maintaine his Majesties *Royall Person, Crowne, and Dignity*, against all *treacherous* practices, that may any waies *dishonour* or impaire them: and then I presume their consciences will *disavow* the proceedings of these *Proclotours*, protest against all their *Ordinances*, that are made *against* or without the Kings consent, advise all the *Knights* and *Burgesses* to Vote no more against their *Soveraigne*, and to make no *further* use of the trust they reposed in them, to *murder* us and our fellow Subjects under the *pretence* of shedding the bloud of the ungodly; or if they still goe on to abuse that *trust*, (to make us yet more miserable) to withdraw *themselves* and their trust and power of representation from them, and to joyne their *uttermost* assistance unto his Majesty to protect him, that he may be enabled to protect us, and to overwhelme the *Rebels* into the same pit which they have made for us.

And this may be, by dissolving the *knot* of factious members wherein we see our *miseries* involved, and to make *elections* of new members into their places, that with the rest of the Lords and Commons, which were *faithfull* both to the *Church, King,*

and *Kingdome*, shall call them to a strict account, for betraying our *trust*, interrupting our *peace*, opposing his Majestie, and violating all our ancient liberties.

Or if a *better* way may be found, let us follow the *same* to Gods *glory*, and to produce the *peace* and happinesse of this Kingdome; lest, if we persist *obstinately* in this wilfull rebellion, to withstand Gods *Ordinance*, to oppose his *anointed*, and to shed so much *innocent* blood, we shall, thus fighting against heaven, so far *provoke* the wrath of the God of Heaven, as that the *glory* of *Israel* shall be *darkned*, the *honour* of this nation shall be *troden* under foot, and be made the scorne of all other nations round about us, and the *light* of our Candlestick shall be *extinguished*, and we shall all become most *miserable*; because *we would not hearken to the voyce of the Lord our God*, which I hope we will doe, and do most *earnestly pray* that we may doe it, to the *glory* of God, the *honour* of our King, and the *happinesse* of this whole Kingdome, through *Iesus Christ* our Lord, to whom be *praise* and *dominion*; both now and for ever. *Amen.*

AN

AN APPENDIX.

THe man of God ſpeaking of *tranſcendent* wickedneſſe, ſaith, *Their Vine is of the Vine of Sodome, and of the fields of Gomorrah: their Grapes are grapes of Gall, their Cluſters are bitter; their Wine is the poyſon of Dragons, and the cruell venome of Aſpes:* and I beleeve never any *wickedneſſe* deſerved better to be clad with this *elegant* expreſſion, then that *threefold* iniquity. 1. The *unparalleld* Vote. 2. The *intolerable* Ordinance. 3. The *damnable* Covenant, which the *rebellious* faction in Parliament have moſt *impiouſly* contrived, to make up the *full* meaſure of their impiety, ſince the writing of my diſcoveries; for, Deut. 32. 32.

1. Omitting that *horrible* practice of thoſe rebellious bloodthirſty Soul-lers that did their *beſt* to murder their owne moſt gracious *Queene*; this faction ſeeing how God *prevented* that plot, voted this moſt *loving* and moſt *loyall* wife to be impeached of *High Treaſon*, for being *faithfull* to doe her uttermoſt endeavour (which will be her *everlaſting* praiſe) to aſſiſt her moſt *deare* and *Royall* husband, (their owne *Liege* Lord and *Soveraigne* King) in his *greateſt* extremities, againſt a *virulent* mighty faction of moſt *malicious* Traytors; the *ſtrangeſt* Treaſon that ever the world heard of.

2. They made an *Ordinance* for the compoſing and convocating of ſuch a *Synod* (whereof I ſaid ſomewhat before) of *Lay* men, *ignorant* men, *factious* men, *traiterous* men, and ſuch concretion of *heterogeneall* parts, like *Nebuchadnezzars* image, gold, braſſe, and clay, all mixed together, and all ſo *ordered*, limited and bridled, (as it is expreſſed in the 5. and 6. page of their Ordinance) by the power of both Houſes, where there are ſuch abundance of *Schiſmaticall* and ſeditious members, that I ſhould ſcarce put the *worſt* ſenſitive ſoule to profeſſe that

erraticall

erraticall faith, or any *brutt* beaſt to be guided by that *Eccleſiaſticall* diſcipline, that ſuch factious *Traytors* (as ſome of them are like to be proved) ſhould compoſe, or cauſe to be compoſed.

3. They compoſed a forme of a *ſacred Vow*, or *Covenant* (as they terme it) or, as it is indeed, the Covenant of Hell, a Covenant againſt God, to overthrow the *Goſpel* of Chriſt under the *name* of Chriſt: which Covenant is the *Oyle* that ſwimmeth uppermoſt upon the waters, that is, the *Oyle of Scorpions*, or (as *Moſes* ſaith) *the poiſon of Dragons*, ſo lately *wringed* and diffuſed farre and neere, to defile and *deſtroy* millions of ſoules; when, forgetting their *faith* to God, and the *Oathes* of their Allegiance (ſo *often* and ſo *ſolemnely* taken by many or moſt of them) to be *faithfull* unto their King, they ſhall be *compelled* (which is *one* degree worſe then the *vow* of them that bound themſelves with a *curſe*, neither *to eate nor drinke till they had killed Paul*; ſo *hypocritically*, ſo *perjuredly*, ſo *rebelliouſly*, ſo *horribly*, and ſo *bloodily*, to make ſuch a *fearefull* Vow, and ſuch an *abominable* Covenant, ſo *wickedly* contrived, that without *great* and ſerious repentance, ſpitteth forth nothing but *fire* and *brimſtone*, and can produce nothing elſe but *hell* and *damnation* to all that take it, eſpecially to them that will *compell* men to be thus *tranſcendently* wicked, as if they would ſend them with *Corah* quicke to Hell. All which *triplicity* of evil I ſhal leave to ſome *abler* and more *eloquent* pen, to be ſet forth more *fully* in the right colours, that being *ſufficiently* diſplayed, they may be throughly deteſted of all good men. *Amen.*

O Lord have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to to keepe thy Lawes.

ERRATA.

Page 24. *lin.* 11. *for* malicious, *read* heavy. *pag.* 98. *lin.* 1. *read* ſomewhat like him, *&c.*

FINIS.

PRAYERS PREVALENCIE FOR ISRAELS SAFETY.

Declared in

A SERMON

Preached in Saint *Margarets Weſtminſter*, before the Honourable Houſe of COMMONS, at the late ſolemne Faſt, *June* 28. 1643.

By THOMAS CARTER, Miniſter of *Dynton* in *Buckingham-ſhire*.

Publiſhed by order of that Houſe.

July 24 LONDON,
Printed by *Richard Cotes*, and are to be ſold by *John Bellamie* and *Ralph Smith*, at the ſigne of the three golden Lions in *Cornhill*, neare the *Royall Exchange*. 1643.

Die Mercurii 28. Junii, 1643.

IT is this day ordered by the Houſe of Commons, that Sir *Oliver Luke* doe from this Houſe returne thanks to Mr. *Palmer*, and Mr. *Hill* to Mr. *Carter*, for the great paines they tooke in the Sermons they this day Preached at the intreaty of the Houſe of Commons at St. *Margarets*, in the City of *Weſtminſter*, (being a day of Publique humiliation) and that they deſire them to Print their Sermons. And it is Ordered that no man preſume to Print the ſaid Sermons, or either of them, but whom the ſaid Mr. *Palmer* and Mr. *Carter* ſhall Authorize under their hands in writing.

H. Elſynge Cler. Parl. D. Com.

I appoint John Bellamie *and* Ralph Smith *to Print my Sermon.*

THO. CARTER.

Errata.

PAge 3 Line 38, for ſinnes, read ſignes. p. 8 l. 37. for iude r. Judge. p. 12. l. 20. for mediate r. immediate, p. 18. l. 15. for Firſt r. Firſt, p. 20 l. 12. *dele* (how), p. 21. l. 8. for *Joab* r. *Job*, p. 22. l. 5 for your petitioner, r. the petitioners, p. 32. l. 5. for is r. are. p. 18. l. 25. in Margin, defect. 5. *Defir.*

TO THE HONOVRABLE HOVSE OF COMMONS Assembled in PARLIAMENT.

IN the fathomlesse depths of infinite goodnesse and wisdome, a designe is laid through the cleared scoveries of Gods perfections and glory, to compleate and accomplish his servants happpinesse. There is not any thing that befals them in this valley of teares, but by his contrivance, it brings with it a secret influence, and activity, to raise them to the mount of joy. I need not tell you how neere the dust Gods people of this Kingdome were, they yet retaine the dints of contempt and scorne: but hath not a strong reflection of Gods power beene cast upon us, from that very cloud under which we were? are there not deliverances created for us, even beyond our hopes? hath not the Lord raised you up (most Noble Senators) as once he did that Pillar to the Israelites *to be a light to us, and darknesse to our enemies? Indeed at present we are in the midst of a red Sea, the whole face of our Kingdom's besmeared with bloud. But is not God able to make of these threatning and discoloured waves, wals of defence and safety? hath he not a* Canaan *reserved for* England

Exod. 14. 20.

gland *alſo? he is certainly full of bowels towards his, and the true* Iſraelites *with us cannot want ſtrength to draw them forth: But God will not have his mercies* abortive; *when the appointed time of deliverance comes, even in the* Mount *he*
Ezek. 36, 37. *will be ſeene, yet will he be* ſought *unto for this: In his ſervants hearts he hath an Armory of faithfull prayers, theſe he appoints to prepare his way before him; and till he findes himſelfe en-*
Gen. 32. 24. 28. *countered with the compleate ſtrength of his owne Spirit, he will not be conquered. This is that meanes of meanes, the life and vigour of all the reſt that a Nation hath of ſafety; of whoſe prevalencie (moſt religious Statiſts) my imperfect meditations (with which at your command I lately preſented your eare, and now your eye) be pleaſed to honour by your Patronage, and crowne by your practice. Be yee wraſtlers with the God of Heaven, and yee ſhall be ſure to foyle your enemies on earth: It is the humble motion of him, who is*

Your unworthy ſervant

and faithfull Auxiliary

at the Throne of grace,

THO. CARTER.

PRAYERS PREVALENCIE FOR ISRAELS SAFETY.

Exod. 32. 9, 10.

And the Lord said unto Moses, *I have seene this people, and behold, it is a stiffe-necked people.*

Now let me alone, that my wrath may waxe hot against them, and that I may consume them: and I will make of thee a mighty Nation.

AFter a narration of *Israels* sinne in the sixe first Verses of the Chapter we finde: First, the Lords complaint of them unto *Moses*. 1 For their wickednesse in generall, *v.* 7. 2 For their idolatry, 1. in making an Idol, 2. in worshipping it, 3. in ascribing their deliverance unto it, *verse* 8.

Secondly, we have in my text a fearfull commination of their utter ruine. Wherein observe these three generall parts.

1. The preface prefixed, *And the Lord said unto* Moses. 1.

2. The ground of the threatning, (*I have seene this people, and behold, it is a stiffe-necked people.*) Wherein observe, 2.

1. The compellation, (*this people,*)

2. The Lords manner of taking cognizance of their sinne.

First, his view, (*I have seene this people:*) Secondly, his censure, (*it is a stiffe-necked people:*)

Thirdly, the sinne whereof he finds them guilty, namely obstinacie, metaphorically expressed (*it is a stiffenecked people.*

Thirdly, the forme of the threatning. *Now therefore let me, &c.* 3.

1. The judgement denounced, namely the utter ruine of that Nation: first, the cause, the *Lords wrath*: secondly, the effect, *the Nation consumed.*

2. The exception of *Moſes* out of the threatning implied, with a gracious promiſe expreſſed; the Lord will not onely ſave *Moſes* from periſhing in the common calamity, but he *will make of him a mighty Nation.*

3. An intimation of the onely remedy to ſtay the hand of God from deſtroying this ſtiffe-necked Nation, namely, *Moſes* his mediation, *Let me alone that my wrath may waxe hot, &c.*

1. The preface tels us that the Lord had no ſooner entertained a purpoſe to deſtroy this Nation, but he preſently acquaints his ſervant *Moſes* with it; which being compared with his dealing with others of his ſervants, in like caſe, affords us this inſtruction.

Doctr. 1. *Before the Lord deſtroyes a Nation, he uſually gives his ſervants notice of his purpoſe.*

(*a*) Pro. 29. 1. (*b*) Pſal. 33. 18 (*c*) Hoſ. 7. 12. (*d*) Pro. 22. 3. (*e*) 1 Sam. 13. 3 (*f*) Mat. 25. 18

Indeed the wicked are ſuddenly deſtroyed, (*a*) and brought to a fearfull end: (*b*) for either, firſt, the judgement falleth ſuddenly upon them, like a net upon a bird, (*c*) without any precedent *notification* given: or ſecondly, without any foregoing *expectation* of it; all warnings notwithſtanding, they ſecurely goe on, (*d*) and are chearfull, like *Agag*, thinking the bitterneſſe of death is paſt, when preſently hewen in peeces: (*e*) or thirdly, without any precedent *preparation* for it, like thoſe fooliſh Virgins in the Goſpel, though they expected the Bridegrooms comming, yet when he came, were unprepared, and their Oyle's to ſeeke. (*f*) So that either through want of precedent notification, or expectation, or preparation, the judgement is either ſudden in it ſelfe, or at leaſt ſudden to them.

(*g*) Amos 3. 7. 1 Sam. 3. 11.

But for the Lords owne ſervants he uſeth to acquaint them with the approaching judgement before it comes, and that not onely his ſervants the Prophets, that are neare him, (as he never hideth any ſuch ſecret from them) (*g*) But all his ſervants in ordinary, as *Lot*, *Abraham*, *Noah*, and others.

The Lord doth not now ordinarily diſcover future judgements by divine revelation, as of old.

Neither onely by their foregoing naturall cauſes.

For ſo every intelligent man and diſcreet Statiſt, by an eye of reaſon, may foreſee the ruine of a Nation, like a ſtorme in the clouds, by ſuch evils as in their intrinſecall nature, are deſtructive to a State, and brings its ruine by way of naturall cauſation: every effect

effect being virtually in its proper cauſe before the actuall production of it: as 1. Diviſions in a Church or State, like the oppoſitions of the Planets, are of dangerous conſequence, and make way for civill warres, as the Jeſuiticall faction well know, which makes them ſo induſtrious in ſowing the ſeeds of diſſention in Church, State, Parliament, City, and in all parts of the Kingdom, expecting that a Kingdom or City divided will not long ſtand. (*b*) (*b*) Mar. 12.25

2. Generall miſapprehenſion and miſconceits of the *Fathers* of a Countrey, when men looke upon them as *deſtroyers*, who are the *maintainers* and *upholders of it*; it is a dangerous ſymptome when a diſeaſe ſo ſeazeth upon the braine, that the ſicke man looketh upon his Father and Brethren, as enemies comming to kill him, whoſe onely deſire and care is to recover and ſave him. Gen. 18. 17. Heb. 11. 7.

3. When through the covetouſneſſe and ambition of ſome, and partiality of others, things are ſo carried in a Church or State, that worth is neglected, and worthleſſe men advanced: (*i*) when the wiſe Counſellor and valorous Captaine (the ſtrength and ſtay of a Kingdome) are taken away, or taken off, and children ſet to rule over men: (*k*) when all creatures are out of their proper place, and in a motion contrary to their naturall principles, this muſt needs be a fearfull ſigne of approaching ruine. (*i*) Ec. 10. 6. 7. (*k*) Iſa. 3. 1, 2, 3, 4. & 19. 11.

4. Licentiouſneſſe, ſenſuality and luxury *take away the heart*, (*l*) effeminate mens ſpirits, infatuate a people, and make them neglective of their owne private, and of the publike good; and a body thus filled with excrementitious humours, cannot be far from ſome dangerous ſickneſſe. (*l*) Hoſ. 4. 11.

A Nations ruine, by theſe and the like evils, is diſcernible by *reaſon*, as procuring it by naturall cauſation.

But the Lord foreſheweth the ruine of a Nation to his owne people *in ſpeculo verbi*, and by an eye of faith it is diſcernible by parallel caſes, and upon ſpirituall grounds in the *Word of God*.

As firſt, he ſheweth the caſting out of a Nation, by its *fulfilling the meaſure* of ſinnes and provocations of divine Majeſty; (*m*) when the ſinnes of it are great in themſelves, great in Gods account by manifold aggravations univerſally ſpread over all ſorts of people, men hardened alſo under the meanes of grace: by *heapes of wrath ſo laid up*, the Lord foreſhowes a *day of wrath* at hand. (*m*) Gen. 15. 15. (*n*) Rom. 2. 5. Dan. 5. 5.

Secondly, by prodigious ſinnes, *mira*, if not *miracula*, God with his owne hand (as it were) writing the ruine of a Nation, as he

did *Belſhazzars*, on the wals of the great houſe of the world, which though the *wiſe men of Babylon* by all their Art could not underſtand; yet the Lords *Daniels* can read and interpret them, by helpe of the Word, as letters written in unknowne Characters, cannot be underſtood without a rule from the Writer.

I might inſtance in other particulars, as the Lords making way for his judgements, by taking away of the righteous, or withholding their prayers. But of this anon.

Now the Lord gives ſuch cleare notice, that howſoever blind *Balaams* will not ſee the ſword that is before them, yet as *Solomon* ſaith, the *prudent* Chriſtian *foreſeeth it*: (*n*) and that not only when it is ſo neare, that obvious to ſenſe, or diſcernible by reaſon in the naturall cauſe of it: but while it is afarre off, (as St. *Peter* ſpeaks) (*o*) *in fieri*, not *in eſſe*, in the wombe of Gods threatning before it comes forth, and onely diſcernible by an eye of faith.

(*n*) Prov. 22. 3.

(*o*) 2 Per. 1. 9. Zeph. 2. 1.

And indeed though the judgement be future, and at preſent inviſible, as being not yet exiſtent, yet by faith it is made as evident, and certaine to the faithfull, as if this tragedy was now acting before their eyes, as the Apoſtle ſpeaketh, (*p*) *Noah* by giving credence to divine warning, 120. yeares before the flood came, ſaw the windowes of Heaven opened, the fountaines of the deepe broken up, the raine falling, the waters riſing, all crying, Helpe, helpe, we periſh, we ſinke, we die.

(*p*) Heb. 11. 9.

The reaſons why the Lord is pleaſed to diſcover his purpoſe, may be theſe.

Reaſ. 1. Firſt, To grace his people, that the world may ſee, that howſoever they account them as the worſt of men, and *the off-ſcowring of all things*, (*q*) yet they are privy counſellers to the great King, and he reveales *arcana imperii*, *his ſecrets to them.* (*r*)

(*q*) 2 Cor. 4. 13

(*r*) Pſal. 25. 14

Reaſon 2. Secondly, That Miniſters publikely, and others occaſionally, ſhould warne the world to flye from the *wrath to come*, as *Eliah* did *Ahab*, ſaying, there is aboundance of raine comming, and therfore up to thy Charriot and flye for ſhelter. (*s*)

(*s*) 2 King. 18. 4

Reaſ. 3. Thirdly, That Gods ſervants might prepare aforehand againſt the ſtorm, either to get ſhelter from it, or elſe to provide Cordials before to refreſh and ſupport them in it.

Uſes. This truth, Firſt, ſhould raiſe our eſteeme of Gods ſervants.

Secondly, Comfort and encourage them.

Thirdly, Teach all to make a right uſe of theſe warnings.

But

But the time haſtens mee to a ſecond obſervation, namely the Lords manner of taking notice of their ſinnes, in theſe two particulars mentioned. Firſt, his view, *I have ſeene this people, contemplatus ſum* or *conſideravi*, as *Vatab.* renders it, or *notum eſt coram me*, as the *Chald. Paraph.* hath it, *i.e.* he ſo conſidered of them that he had a cleare ſight and full knowledge of them. Secondly, his cenſure, *it is a ſtiffenecked people.*

Howſoever the Lord be an infinite omniſcient eſſence above time, no *prius* and *poſterius* with him, although he doth not draw forth one thing by and after another, as man doth by *diſcurſive reaſon*, but ſees all things *unico ſimplici intuitu*, by one ſimple intuitive Act, yet is the Lord pleaſed to uſe this Anthropopathie, to hold out unto us this golden rule to be obſerved in judging either of perſons or of things, opinions or practiſes, whether thoſe be true, or theſe good, which I ſhall propoſe to you as my ſecond Doctrine.

In judging we ought firſt to enquire and ſee, and then accordingly determine. *Doctr.* 2.

The like rule we have laid downe by Saint *Paul*, *Try all things*, finde out the truth, and accordingly determine for that which is good, and againſt that which is evill: (*a*) And excellently by our Saviour in the ſeventh of *John*. The *Phariſees* being much offended at his healing the man upon the Sabbath (*Joh.* 5.8.) he having in the 21, 22, and 23. verſes of this chapter juſtified his Act, and ſtrongly proved, that howſoever it might looke like a breach of the Sabbath, and was by the Jewiſh Prelates condemned as a breach of it, that yet indeed it was not, at laſt he addes this generall admonition, yet with reference to his owne particular, that they ſhould not judge of his act by the ſhew and face of it, and that they ſhould not looke at his meanneſſe that ſtood for it, nor the Phariſees greatneſſe that condemned it, but examine it by the rule, *Judge not according to appearance, but judge righteous judgement.*

(*a*) 1 Theſ. 5. 21. 22.

Joh. 7. 24.

Firſt, For the negative part of the rule, μὴ κατ' ὄψιν, the word ſignifies the face or countenance of a thing, and his direction is negative for that, not according to appearance.

Secondly, For the affirmative, judge righteous judgement, κρίσιν δικαίαν κρίνατε, the word δίκαιος here tranſlated righteous ſignifies according to *Ariſt.* ſuch an exact diviſion of a thing that each part hath

hath neither more nor leſſe then its true proportion: ſo that to
Ariſt. Eth. l. 5. c. 7. judge righteous judgement is to give each thing its true eſtimate:
(*b*) Rom. 2. 2. and this is to judge *according to truth*, as Saint *Paul*, (*b*) and *what*
(*c*) Luk. 12. 57 *is right*, as our Saviour ſpeakss. (*c*)

Judgement is the determination that the underſtanding by diſcourſe maketh of a thing.

1 Joh. 4. 1. Now indeed *raſh, uſurped* or *unjuſt judgement* is condemned as ſin-
1 Theſ. 5. 21. full, but *judgement* it ſelfe allowed as lawfull, yea commanded as
1 Cor. 10. 15. neceſſary; and not onely to enquire and examine (this even the Papiſts allow to every man) but alſo to determine: and that not onely for publicke perſons, Magiſtrates in the State, Miniſters in the Church, but even for private perſons alſo: indeed the judge-
B. Daven. in præl. de Iud. contro. ment *of ſupreame authority* belongs to God, and the judgement *of miniſteriall and ſubordinate power* to publicke perſons; but the judgement of *practicall diſcretion* belongs unto every private Chriſtian: and that not onely concerning perſons, but things alſo: alwayes for the manner obſerving this rule, *firſt to enquire and ſee, and then to determine.*

Firſt, in judging of perſons, and actions in reference to perſons.

Rumours and probabilities are ground ſufficient for a *cautelous jealouſie*, our Saviour would not *truſt the Jewes, becauſe he knew what*
(*c*) Joh. 2. 24, 25. *was in them*, (*c*) though we cannot looke into the heart, and ſee what particular projects and deſignes are there, as Chriſt did, yet we know there is corruption enough to warrant a cautelous jealouſie where there is an appearance of evill: and yet we muſt not peremptorily determine but upon cleare grounds, of pregnant teſtimony, or ſtrong preſumptions: this the Lord teacheth by his owne example, he would not proceed againſt the *Sodomites* upon
(*d*) Gen. 18. 21. *the crye that came up*; but he would *firſt goe downe and ſee*: (*d*) and
Deut. 13. 14. wee have it given in precept in the 13. of *Deuter.* for publicke judicature, and I conceive it holds as well in private cenſure, that we *diligently enquire before we determine.*

Now becauſe man cannot *ſee as God doth*, for he lookes directly
(*e*) 1 Sam. 16. 7 on the heart, (*e*) and ſo judgeth of it; (*f*) but man cannot, ther-
(*f*) Jer. 17. 10 fore he is to finde out the heart by words and actions: as the naturaliſts judge of the forme of a thing by its qualities and operations; ſo we of the habit of the heart, by its conſtant and naturall
(*g*) Mat. 7. 20. productions, as of a *tree by its fruit.* (*g*)

The

The Apoſtle tels us, 1 *Tim.*5.24. *ſome mens ſinnes are open before-hand and goe before unto judgement, and ſome mens follow after:* (*b*) ſome conjecture, that at the laſt Judgement ſuch as are eminently good, or notoriouſly bad, ſhall not come into the judgement of *diſquiſition or examination*, but onely come under ſentence, namely the judgement of *retribution*: and the like courſe may we obſerve in cenſuring, as for ſuch as are eminently good, or notoriouſly bad, the beſt of the good, and the worſt of the bad, there needs no great inquiry concerning them, before we cenſure, but for the two middle ſorts, the beſt of the bad, and the worſt of the good, here it is hard to diſcerne betweene the *precious* and the *vile*; (*a*) and therefore of ſuch we are diligently to enquire before we cenſure.

(*b*) 1 Tim. 5. 24.

Aq. ſup. q. 89.

(*a*) Jer. 15. 19

As ſome perſons, like the Moone at the change, ſeeme to have leſſe light and worth in them then indeed they have, little in the eye of the world, much in the eye of heaven. So others ſeeme better then they are, like blazing Starres, that make a great ſhow, and looke as glorioufly as any ſtarres in the heavens, and yet no ſtarres, but ſtinking meteors. Alſo there are aggravating and extenuating circumſtances, making the good or evill, more or leſſe in Gods account: and therefore if we would make a true eſtimate of men and their actions, we muſt diligently *enquire* before we cenſure.

In judging of things we ought to judge *ſecundum quod ſunt*, but in judging of perſons, or actions in reference to perſons, it is not alwayes ſo: indeed *in re comperta*, in a caſe that is evident, it's equally an abomination to the Lord, *to juſtifie the wicked* perſon, or action, as *to condemne the juſt*. But *in re dubia* it's otherwiſe, for here the rule holds, *dubia in meliorem partem ſunt interpretanda*, charity to the perſon ſhould ſway the judgement, though not abſolutely to determine, yet to thinke him good whom we doe not know to be bad. (*d*)

(*c*) Prov. 17. 15.

Aq. 2. 2. *q.* 60. 2.

(*d*) 1 Cor. 13. 7.

Secondly, in judging of things, tenents, or practiſes; we ought not to take things upon truſt, but our ſelves to examine and determine of them.

First, We muſt not judge according to appearances.

Now appearances are { 1. *perſonall* / 2. *reall.*

First, *A perſonall appearance* is that eſtimate which the quality of the perſons oppoſing or maintaining an opinion or practice, hath

hath brought upon it: We are not to judge what kinde of creatures the Moone and Starres are by that luſter and ſplendor that the Sun hath caſt upon them, for then we ſhall judge them far more glorious creatures then they are. As we are not preſently to imbrace and cry up an opinion or practice, becauſe good men ſtand for it, and bad againſt it, as if all were good which *Nero* perſecutes: ſo neither are we to cry downe a tenet or practice, becauſe good men are againſt it, and bad men for it.

Indeed this is enough to raiſe a *ſuſpition* upon an opinion or practice, and to cauſe a more ſtrict ſcrutiny and enquiry into it, yet this muſt not ſway our judgement, but without al regard of the perſons for, or againſt, indifferently weigh the action: *judge not according to perſonall appearances.*

Secondly, *there is a reall appearance*, which is the ſuperficies, the *ſuprema facies*, or countenance of a thing: Now error is ſomtimes cryed up in truths apparel, and vice in vertues colour, as *Jacob* was bleſt in *Eſaus* garment: (*b*) and ſometimes truth is cried downe under an appearance of errour, and if not vertue, yet a thing in its nature indifferent under an appearance of evill, as good *Jehoſaphat* was made at, and endangered in wicked *Ahabs* apparell. (*c*)

(*b*) Gen. 27. 27.

(*c*) 2 Chro. 18.

Now indeed a thing indifferent both in its nature and uſe, though not intrinſecally evill; yet becauſe it lookes like a ſinne, and carries the face of evill, it ought to be declined, *Abſtaine from all appearance of evill.* (*d*)

(*d*) 1 Theſ. 5. 22.

It is alſo true, that things in their nature indifferent, yet carrying an appearance of evill, in reſpect of ſcandall, ſhould not by authority be impoſed, and ſo be made neceſſary in their uſe.

But in as much as the outward face and appearance is not alwayes ſutable to the intrinſecall nature of things, we are not to be ſwayed in our judgements by that.

But ſetting all appearances perſonall and reall aſide, we are to ſearch into the nature of things, and to examine them by the rule, that ſo we may give each thing its true eſtimate, and judge righteous judgement.

Now that we may rightly determine, three things are required, 1. *A right rule to jude by*, 2. *A right qualification of the perſons judging*, 3. *A right application of things to the rule.*

The rule to try all opinions and practiſes by, is the *Word of God.*

There

There are indeed divers ſubordinate rules: as,

1. *The Lawes and legall Commandements of authority, perſonall* commandements they impoſe on us, as they are men, *legall* as Magiſtrates; and by theſe all perſons that are under them, are to be regulated in their practice, ſo far as they may without diſobeying God in his Word. 1 Per. 2.13. Acts 5. 29.

2. *The example of Gods people and cuſtome of the Church of God,* is in ſome caſes a rule to direct us, and hath *vim legis*, as *Aquin.* ſpeaks: and therefore there being a controverſie at *Corinth* whether *women* ſhould be *uncovered*, or *men covered* in the Congregation, the Apoſtle ſeemes to referre them to the *Churches cuſtome*, as a rule in things of ſo low a nature, and not determined in the Word, and by it to conclude and determine for, or againſt a thing accordingly. B. *Andr.* 1 Cor. 11. 16.

A third rule is each mans *conſcience*, and to this the Apoſtle refers the *Corinthians, Judge in your ſelves what is right:* Now conſcience is ſo farre a rule, that if we doe any thing againſt it, we ſinne: and yet if we be guided by conſcience, and that erres, and leads us from the rule of the Word, we ſinne too; an erring conſcience cannot excuſe *à toto*, though it doth *à tanto*, though it doth extenuate, yet not annihilate a ſinne. And here we may take notice of a two-fold miſtake amongſt men. Sometimes a groundleſſe fancie is taken for conſcience, and ſometimes the bent of the heart and will: men ſuppoſing conſcience to be for, or againſt a thing, when indeed it is either a meere fancie, without ground either of Scripture or reaſon: or at leaſt the heart and will, by ſome engagements, is bent and ſetled that way. 1 Cor. 11. 13.

Now all theſe are but ſecondary rules, and are to be regulated by the Word, the Word of God is the primarie rule whereby as all opinions and practices are to be tried, in as much as the truth of thoſe, and goodneſſe of theſe conſiſts in conformity thereunto: ſo alſo all thoſe ſecondary rules are to be regulated and tried by it, as all weights and meaſures by the Kings Standard, they being no further rules to us then they are agreeable thereunto: therefore the Prophet *Iſaiah* refers all to this rule, *to the law, to the teſtimony,* no light unleſſe according to this rule, this is the *ballance of the Sanctuary*, the touch-ſtone to try all rules, all opinions and practices by. Iſa. 8. 20.

2. For the *qualification of the perſons judging*, they muſt be *tranſformed*

Rom. 12.2. *formed and renued in the ſpirit of their minds*, their underſtandings enlightned, and their hearts ſanctified, or elſe they can never try and
1 Cor. 10. 15. determine what is *that good and acceptable will of the Lord.* They
1 Cor. 2. 15. muſt have gracious and ſpirituall hearts, as well as cleare underſtandings, as the Apoſtle ſheweth.

And indeed every godly enlightned Chriſtian, though not of ſuch intellectuall ſtrength, as to be able to judge of all theologicall truths, yet is of ſuch underſtanding, that through the helpe of Gods Spirit, he is able to judge of thoſe fundamentall divine truths, which are of abſolute neceſſity by an actuall explicit faith to be beleeved unto ſalvation.

If the eye be dimme, duſty, or diſtempered, it maketh not a true report of things to the underſtanding; ſo if the perſon judging be not rightly diſpoſed, either through darkneſſe in the underſtanding, or corruption in the heart, he cannot judge righteous judgement.

There are two things that hinder right judging, *prejudice* and *paſſion.*

1. *Prejudice*: the eye muſt be free from colours, the palate muſt be inſipide: *Intus exiſtens prohibet alienum*: if the eye be inflamed, it makes the whiteſt thing ſeeme red, and if the palate be bitter, it makes the ſweeteſt thing taſt ſo; if a man be prepoſſeſt with an opinion, he comes like a Jury-man reſolved upon his verdict, before he heares the cauſe.

The ſecond thing is *Paſſion*: troubled water never repreſents the true image of a thing; *facile credimus quod volumus, vel quod timemus*, the heart hath ſo great an influence upon the underſtanding, that we are apt to beleeve what we deſire, or what we feare; and there-
Exod. 23.8. fore it is ſaid that *a gift blinds the eyes of the wiſe*, a gift drawes the heart to the giver, and affection works ſo upon the underſtanding, that it puts out the very eye of judgement, and makes even a wiſe man to thinke he ſees that, which indeed he doth not.

Now therefore as when a man would exactly view a thing, he wipes his eyes that no duſt or water may hinder ſight, ſo ſhould it be our care to put away all paſſion, and prejudice, that we may judge rightly.

Thirdly, there is required *a right application of the thing to be ruled.*

1. We muſt with care and ſtudy examine the opinion or practice in queſtion: examine it as *Joſeph* did his brethren, very ſtrictly, concer-

concerning its father that begot it, its brethren and aſſociates, whence it came; and what the end of its comming, if not to prejudice the State? turne it, and looke upon it every way, in its cauſes, nature, concomitants, effects, and conſequences, yet warily diſtinguiſhing betweene proper and accidentall effects. Gen. 42. *verſ.* 7 9, 10, 11.

2. That with much humility and ſelfe-deniall, we ſeeke to the only wiſe God, that he would preſent his truth, and make it clearly ſhine before us, that he would heale our underſtandings that we may ſee it; and by his Spirit guide our thoughts, and ſo lead us into all truth. Prov. 20. 27. Joh. 16. 13.

This Doctrine firſt diſcovers unto us the cauſe, that we have ſo many errours in the Church, like *Tares among the Wheat*, ſown by that *envious man*, like the Frogs of *Egypt*, creeping into every houſe, ſurely it is becauſe men *judge according to appearance*; this act lookes like idolatry; this forme of government lookes like the Antichriſtian; this opinion, or that way, ſuch and ſuch holy men are for: thus whiles they judge according to *perſonall*, or *reall appearances*, they judge not *righteous judgement*. *Uſe.* Matth. 13. 25.

2. It diſcovers the cauſe whence it comes to paſſe that learned and godly men do often meet and diſpute, yet cannot agree upon a right determination, they have light, and no doubt look through the miſt of *appearances*, into the very nature of things; yet perhaps there may be *paſſion* or *prejudice* to ſway: or elſe they may be too full of ſelfe, ſelfe-ends, looking at the credit of victory, rather then the beating out of truth: or perhaps ſelfe-conceit and ſelfe-dependance, leaning too much to their owne underſtanding: and then no wonder if they judge not *righteous judgement*. Prov. 3. 5.

3. It diſcovers the reaſon why we have ſo many miſconceits, and evill cenſures of our Worthies in Parliament, and in our Armies, men ſhooting the arrowes of harſh cenſures, out of the Bow of a proud heart, even againſt theſe Starres. Surely for the moſt part, the reaſon is, becauſe they cenſure before they ſee, *and ſpeake evill of what they doe not underſtand.* Jude v. 10.

So I come to the third point, the compellation, *(this people.)* The Lord was wont to looke upon *Iſrael* as his owne, as *Exod.* 3. I have ſeene the affliction of *my people*, and *Exod.* 7. Let *my people* go: but now their idolatry hath cauſed a variation of title, now he will not owne them, but lookes upon them as ſtrangers, *populus meus* is now become *populus iſte*. Whence we may infer, Exod. 3. 7. Exod. 7. 16.

Doctr. 3. *That Idolatry dissolves a Church, unchurches a people, and breakes that bond of relation betweene God and them.*

For the clearing of this proposition, I shall endeavour to shew two things.

1. What it is that constitutes a visible Church.
2. How, and in what respect Idolatry dissolves it.

1. First, the profession of Christ, in the use of right ordinances, doth constitute a visible Church, and difference it from all other societies: and so it did even before Christs Incarnation, though more obscurely then since.

As the true mysticall union of the faithfull with Christ, and among themselves, is the forme that gives being to the invisible Church: so an externall union by profession (not publikly contradicted by their owne opinions and practices, as in the Papacie) gives being to the visible Church; as may be collected from *Mat.* 16. 18.

Matth. 16.18.

Now this profession of Christ, and of a people to be his followers, must not onely be verball, but reall: and consisteth in the setting up of his ordinances, either by a Law, or by generall submission unto them, and attending upon him in the constant use of them: I say in the use of all the ordinances, *habitually*, and in the *actuall use*, of such of them, as they are capable of.

I doe not meane those inferiour ordinances of magistracie, marriage, &c. But those sacred ordinances of preaching the Word, celebration of the Sacraments and prayer, which the Lord hath ordained and instituted as to be *part of his worship*; so also to be the proper, mediate, ordinary *meanes* of conveying the beginnings, and encrease of all saving grace unto the soules of men.

Indeed the right manner of using these ordinances, with those helps of discipline, government, &c. requisite to make the ordinances, the more to put forth their strength, and so the more efficacious to us; these I grant to be necessary to the *well-being* of a visible Church, but the ordinances themselves, I conceive to be of the very essence, and being of it: no visible Church without them, and that a true visible Church which hath them, as afore specified.

And hence it is that the Prophet cals the whole Nation of the *Jewes* professing themselves to be his, in the use of his ordinances, *the Lords flock*, in reference to those that were truly so, the denomination there following the better part: and the Lord cals the

Jer. 13. 17.

people

people of *Iſrael his ſonne*, and ſuch they were, though not by ſpi- Exod 4. 22.
rituall, yet by externall adoption: and ſo they are called his ſpouſe, Hoſ. 11. 1.
as being married unto him by an externall covenant and ſtipula- Ezek. 16. 8.
tion.

And as by effectuall calling, there is a reall dedication of the ſoule to Chriſt, and ſo an actuall admiſſion into the inviſible Church: ſo by Baptiſme, we are given up to Chriſt, by an externall dedication, and ſo admitted into the univerſall viſible Church: and thereby are united to Chriſt, and one to another, by mutuall covenant, if not actuall, and formall, yet vertuall, and interpretative, and thereby alſo made members of particular viſible Churches, nationall and congregationall.

Now ſecondly, as the profeſſion of Chriſt in the uſe of right or- 2.
dinances (as aforeſaid) doth conſtitute a viſible Church, ſo idolatry in ſetting up by a Law, or by generall conſent, and ſubmiſſion, a creature to be worſhipped *terminatively* in ſtead of God, or *relatively*, intending or pretending to worſhip God by worſhipping that creature, this diſſolves a Church.

An inſtance of this we have in my text, this people having ſet up an Idol to worſhip, though they intended not to terminate their worſhip in the Idol, but to worſhip the Lord by it, as *verſ.* 5. yet for this, the Lord ſpeakes of them as a people caſt off, Exod. 32. 5.
and at preſent would not ſeeme to owne them. And howſoever that Nation untill Chriſts incarnation had a peculiar priviledge, which no other Nation could challenge, in reſpect of Gods abſolute covenant made with them; and ſo were not *de facto*, at leaſt on Gods part, unchurched, he having not pronounced the ſentence of divorce upon them: yet their ſinne, both in reſpect of their demerit, diſhonouring God in ſo high a degree, and alſo in reſpect of the intrinſecall nature thereof, as having thereby forſaken the Lord, and taken a ſtrange God: This ſinne, I ſay, on their part did by breach of covenant actually unchurch them, and on Gods part, it did *de jure*, unchurch them: and *de facto*, had unchurched any other Nation whatſoever: And during their continuance in that ſinne, they had forfeited their right, loſt the comfort and ſenſe of that relation betweene God and them: neither could others that were unacquainted with that abſolute covenant looke upon them as Gods Church any longer.

Now as our Saviour yeelds, that the *Jewes* though they had

Joh. 8. 37. 39. 41. nothing of God in them, and were none of his ſpiritually, but the children of the Devill: yet living under right ordinances, they were members of the true viſible Church, the ſonnes of *Abraham* and of God, by externall ſonſhip: ſo alſo the *Jewes* confeſſe that if they were children of fornications, (*i.e.*) members of an idolatrous Church, they were broken off from God, and none of his ſons, no not by externall adoption.

Indeed ſuperſtitious additions to the ordinances, or an erroneous way and manner of uſing them, are ſins of an high nature, and in a ſenſe the taking of Gods name in vaine, in hindering the ordinances from attaining their true and proper end, namely the honouring of Chriſt, and edification of his people, at leaſt in that degree as otherwiſe they might.

Yet as I conceive, ſuch ſuperſtitious additions and errours in the manner of uſing the ordinances, cannot amount to a ſetting up of an Idol, and ſo diſſolve a Church. Though the wife be a blaſphemer, and guilty of the groſſeſt ſinnes, yet a wife ſtill, adultery onely breakes the marriage bond, ſo only Idolatry breakes that bond of relation betweene God and a people. When rebellious *Iſrael* had played the harlot, and would not repent, but continued obſtinate in her Idolatry, the Lord gave her a bill of divorcement and caſt her away. Jer. 3. 8.

Uſe.

(*b*) 1 Joh. 5. 21 Now therefore it nearely concernes a people, of all other ſinnes to beware of Idolatry and idols. (*b*) As we have cauſe to be humbled for the Idolatry that hath beene committed in the Land, leſt it becomes ours by conſent, ſo for time to come with (*c*) Iſa. 30. 22. deteſtation to caſt it utterly out of the Land. (*c*) Yea to remove all appearances of it, a true Church, like a modeſt woman, ſhould not endure a whoriſh dreſſe: Yea and to remove all occaſions of Idolatry, though not formally ſo, not *gradus in re*, yet if it be *gradus ad rem*, any occaſion, helpe, or ſtep to it, put it farre away, (*d*) Job. 11. 14. (*d*) and ſo keepe the Kingdome farre from an evill matter.

In the fourth place be pleaſed to take notice of the nature of *Iſraels* ſinne, and the judgement denounced againſt it.

Firſt, their ſinne is *obſtinacy*, metaphorically ſet downe (they are *a ſtiffenecked people.*)

(*e*) 2 Chro. 36. 13. Firſt, By *neck* is meant, the heart or will, as *Zedekiah ſtiffened his neck and hardened his heart*, (*e*) which is all one; as the neck of the Oxe beareth the yoke, and ſo drawes in the Teame; ſo ſhould the

the heart beare the yoke of Chriſt, and goe on in his wayes.

Secondly, By *ſtiffeneſſe* or *hardneſſe* of the heart, is meant the ſettled ſtrength of the will to goe on in ſinne. And when once it is ſo ſet,

Firſt, the heart becomes impenetrable, like *Pharaohs*, nothing can pierce it, (*f*) either with feare *of ſinne*, before it is committed, or with remorſe *for ſinne* when it is committed; but is fearleſs and ſenſleſſe. (*f*) Exod. 7. 23. Iſa. 28. 15. Zep. 1. 12.

Secondly, the heart becomes alſo inflexible and unalterable, like the *Adamant ſtone*, (*g*) nothing can worke upon it, or bring it into a better forme: No *waſhing* can make this *Blackmore white*. (*h*) (*g*) Zach. 7. 12. (*h*) Jer. 13. 23

Indeed, firſt, there is a naturall hardneſſe which we bring with us into the world, (*i*) a child though it hath a tender body, yet it hath a hard heart. (*i*) Iſa. 48. 8.

Secondly, there are ſome remainders of this hardneſſe in the hearts of the beſt, even of Chriſts owne diſciples, (*k*) but this is *partiall*, and *but for a time*. But when this ſinne comes to the height, and is *totall* and *finall*, the heart fully and unalterably ſet to doe evill, (*a*) then it properly denominates a perſon or people obſtinate and *ſtiffenecked*. (*k*) Mar. 6. 52. (*a*) Eccleſ. 8. 1.

This hardneſſe is partly *habituall* voluntarily procured; and that,

Firſt, by long and frequent committing of ſin: (*b*) acts encreaſe habits, and indiſpoſe the ſubject to receive contrary habits: thus the heart becomes like the *high way*, ſo hardned by the often paſſage of ſinne, that no *ſeed* will enter. (*c*) (*b*) Neh. 9. 29. (*c*) Mat. 13. 4.

Secondly, by long ſtanding out under the meanes of grace: like the Tortoiſe which floats ſo long upon the water, untill the beames of the Sunne have hardened its ſhell that it cannot ſinke, ſo living long in ſinne under the Sun-ſhine of the Goſpell, the heart becomes ſo hardened that it cannot repent. (*d*) *Plin.* (*d*) Rom. 2. 5.

This hardneſſe is partly alſo penall, and judiciall: The Lord for their ſinnes, ſo many, and ſo long continued in, and for refuſing of grace offered in the meanes, in his juſt judgment gives men up to Satan, and to their owne hearts luſts, letting them looſe upon them, and ſo their hearts become fully obdurate.

This is the nature of their ſinne, but in what degree and how generally ſpread, we cannot exactly determine.

Secondly,

Secondly, the judgement denounced, is ſet downe in a metaphoricall expreſſion, and implies that the Lord was ready by ſome ſevere judgement to *conſume* that people; his *anger* growne *hot* even to fury, like an *enraged Lyon*, ready to teare to peeces and conſume.

From the ſinne and puniſhment, the doctrine which ariſeth is this.

Doctr. 4. *That obſtinacy in great and grievous ſinnes, under effectuall meanes, is uſually the immediate forerunner of ruine: it is a token that the Lords anger is hot againſt a Nation, and ready to breake in upon it by ſome conſuming judgement.*

Jer. 13. Ver. 10. I deſire to inſtance in an example or two. In the 13. of *Jeremiah* by a *linnen girdle hid at the river* Euphrates *untill it was rotten*, the Prophet ſhewes that the Lord would caſt the State out of his ſight untill it was conſumed, *verſe* 10. Now becauſe they preſumed of ſafety, that either through the wiſedome of their State, or at leaſt that by their cunning, each private perſon would make ſome ſhift for himſelfe, therefore he tels them that they ſhould be like *drunken men*, (*a*) ſottiſh, and ſtaggering to and fro in their reſolutions, not knowing what to pitch upon for their ſafety. And becauſe they preſumed of their power, (*b*) he tels them that they were to God but as *a pot in the hand of the potter*, ſoone broken to pieces by him; yea the Lord will cauſe them one to *daſh againſt another*, one to plunder and kill another. And becauſe they expected forraine helpe from *Ægypt*, he tels them (*c*) that it ſhould be *darkeneſſe* unto them, and ſhould rather increaſe then abate their miſery. Now at the *ver.* 15. 16. he exhorts them to repentance as the moſt proper remedy to prevent all, doe not proudly deſpiſe the Lords threatning; but humble your ſelves, and by repentance give God the glory of his truth, juſtice, and power, which by your ſinnes you have impeached: But *ver.* 17. (*e*) if ye will not heare this, but proudly deſpiſe this admonition, and ſtand out under the meanes of grace; ſurely though ye be the Lords owne people, yet ye ſhall be *carryed away captives*; and he ſpeakes in the preſent-tence, to note unto them the certainty of the event, that it was as ſure to come to paſſe as if done already; the particulars of the judgement is more largely ſet downe, 2 *Chro.* 36. 17.

(*a*) Ver. 12, 13.
(*b*) Verſ. 14.
(*c*) Verſ. 16.
(*d*) Verſ. 15. 16
(*e*) Verſ. 17.
2 Chro. 36. 17.

Firſt, the ſword of the *Chaldeans ſhou'd come and waſt their country*: and not onely ſo, but *they that eſcape the Sword ſhall loſe their liberties*, which

which they did enjoy, and be made captives and slaves to a *strange King*; and (which was worst of all) with their liberties they should lose their *Religion* too, and be carried into *Babylon*.

Another example we have in the 11. of *Matthew*, *Capernaum* had so many outward and spirituall priviledges, that it was said to be *lift up to heaven*; for riches and honour, it was the chiefe citie in that Province, and for spirituall priviledges, there was the seat of the *Messiah*, the place of his habitation, there he wrought many wonderfull miracles, and preached many excellent Sermons: such effectuall meanes, that might have moved even the stony hearted *Sodomites* if they had beene alive: yet such was *Capernaums obstinacy*, that all these Sermons, mercies, miracles, wrought not upon this Citie; and therefore saith our Saviour, this Citie that by pride and prosperitie is so lifted up, shall be brought full low, and so (as Histories report) it was overthrowne, of this great Citie, nothing there remayning but two or three poore Fishermens Cottages. Matth. 11.29.

The reasons are two: First, because obstinacy is the *full height* of sinne and its full measure. First, as obstinacy is the greatest aggravation of sinne, and maketh our sinnes great in Gods account, and most provoking, as carrying with it great *unthankfulnesse* to God, *contempt* of the meanes of grace and of God, and of all the good offered to us in the meanes. So secondly, it causeth a reall increase of sinne; the heart like a Castle resisting the Spirits assault upon it in the ordinances, corruption within gathers strength: the flame of sin if not blowne quite out by the Spirit in the ordinances increaseth accidentally by the blowing of it backe: Now all sinne like poyson is of a destructive nature, though it not alwayes actually kils through want of measure; now when it is growne to the full, then it usually destroyes: So when the *Amorites wickednesse was full*, the Lord cast them out. *Reas.* 1. Gen. 15.15:

A second reason is, because it makes a people *incorrigible*, and so brings them into a remedilesse condition; the Lord for a time at the entreaty of the *dressers* did forbeare the Jewish state, that *barren Figtree*, but it was to try if the digging or dunging of an evangelicall ministery would produce a *reformation*, but when it continued unfruitfull, it was by *Titus* and *Vespasian* hewen downe; and *Solomon* saith (*b*) that such as *harden their hearts under frequent reproofes*, under effectuall meanes, *shall be destroyed*, broken to pieces as *Reas.* 2. (*b*) Prov. 29.1

as a ſtone with an hammer (as the word ſignifies) becauſe they are in themſelves *remedileſſe*; although indeed there is a remedy in it ſelfe, namely Gods mercy in Chriſt upon their repentance, yet none to the obſtinate, becauſe he wilfully rejecteth the remedy: indeed the prayers of Gods people may keepe off a temporall judgement for a time, (as anon we ſhall ſhew) but the Lords forbearance will but make way for a heavier judgement in the end if they continue obſtinate.

For application: If obſtinacie in ſinne provoketh the wrath of God againſt a people, and haſtens its ruine, then certainly repentance is the proper remedy to appeaſe the wrath of God, and ſave from ruine. But this dutie having beene often taught and preſſed, in this honourable Auditory, I ſhall paſſe over: and proceed to another obſervation.

In the firſt place therefore obſerve, *the exception of Moſes out of this threatning* here *implyed*, with *this gracious promiſe* here *expreſſed*, *I will make of thee a mighty Nation*, *Efficiam ut ex te gens oriatur magna, vel præficiam te genti multo majori*, (ſo the *Chaldee* Paraphraſe hath it) that either the Lord would raiſe him up a people, out of the loynes of *Moſes*, or elſe give him the Princedome over ſome other nation: How ever it be, the Lord here promiſeth not onely to ſave his perſon, but to raiſe his houſe: and the like promiſe upon the like occaſion the Lord made unto him, *Numb.* 14. 12. Whence wee inferre this propoſition.

Numb. 14. 12.

In all the combuſtions and devaſtations wherewith the kingdomes of the earth are ſhaken, as it is the Lords care to keep his Church on foot, ſo alſo to preſerve every of his ſervants perſons, and to recompence their outward loſſes.

This generall falleth into three particulars.

1. Firſt, *The Lord will certainly keepe his Church on foot ſo long as the world endures*: No ſooner had the Lord a thought of deſtroying this people, but he preſently reſolves upon another, for *the Lord loves the gates of Sion more then all the dwellings of Jacob*, (*a*) hee delighteth more in his Church then in all other ſocieties: and he upholds the world, keepes off judgements, beſtowes many bleſſings for the Churches ſake (*b*); if his Church ſhould faile, the world would fall to ruine.

(*a*) Pſal 87. 2.

(*b*) Iſa. 19. 24.

Indeed it is not tied to any certaine place, but is in the world like a ſhip in the Sea, driven from place to place, but ſtil in the Sea.

Neither doth it at all times continue, the ſame degree of outward ſplendour,

ſplendour, but like the Moone, not alwayes alike viſible, yea ſometimes ſcarſe diſcernible, yet ſtill in the heavens; and therefore howſoever Satan and his inſtruments by crueltie, and ſubtiltie, endeavour the Churches ruine; yet all the power and policie of hell ſhall never ſo farre prevaile, as utterly to deſtroy it; (*d*) ſooner may they pull the Sunne out of the Firmament then the Church out of the world, and when the Lord deſtroyes the rebellious multitude, *he will not utterly deſtroy the houſe of Jacob* (*e*).

(*d*) Matth. 16. 18.

(*e*) Amos 9. 8.

Secondly, *When the Lord deſtroyes a ſinfull nation, he will preſerve his owne people, he will not deſtroy the righteous* with the wicked (*f*): though hee toſſeth the people and ſifteth them, as Wheate in a Sieve, though he ſcattereth the wicked, and like duſt they are blowne away by the winde of his wrath, yet not a *graine of his Wheate* ſhall be loſt (*g*); he will either keepe them out of the furnace, or preſerve them in it, hee will either ſave them from the judgement it ſelfe, or from the evill of it, that it ſhall not hurt them; one way or other he wil be an *hiding place* (*a*) and a *Sanctuary* to his own ſervants: as here he promiſeth to ſave his ſervant *Moſes*, ſo this unchangeable God, with whom is no reſpect of perſons, wil doubtleſſe doe the like for them.

2.

(*f*) Gen. 18. 23

(*g*) Amos 9. 8, 9.

(*a*) Iſay 32. 2. Iſey 8. 14.

Thirdly, he will not onely ſave their perſons, but alſo recompence their loſſes; if *Moſes* loſe his principalitie God will give him another; it ſhall be the rayſing, not the overthrow of his houſe: if any of Gods ſervants ſhall, with *Amaziah*, be troubled for loſſe of their offices, lands, revennues, or mony, as hee for his hundred talents (*c*); the anſwer of the man of God may ſatisfie him; *Is not the Lord able to give thee more then this?*

3.

(*c*) 2 Chro. 25. 9.

Firſt, for loſſes voluntary; have you willingly laid out much for Chriſt in the ſervice of the Church and State? remember how God dealt with *Abraham*, (*d*) he in obedience to God, and for his ſake left his native country, & all he had; and yet was no loſer, for the Lord recompenced his loſſe, and gave him a better for it.

(*d*) Heb 11. 8.

Secondly, for loſſes caſtigatory; conſider how God dealt with *Job*, he was plundered by the *Chaldeans* at one time, and by the *Sabeans* at another; even quite undone, yet the Lord raiſed him up to a greater eſtate then ever (*e*)?

(*e*) Job 42. 12

Uſe.

Now therefore Gods people have cauſe to bee well contented, & to *ſuffer with patience the ſpoyling of their goods*, not only upon this grounſd, that *they ſhall have in heaven, a better and an enduring ſub-*

ſtance(*f*). But alſo even in this life they ſhal have an hundred fold(*g*); Not onely that which is equivalent in ſpirituall graces, but alſo even in outward things; ſo farre as ſhall bee for their ſpirituall good. They ſhall be no loſers, as our Saviour promiſeth, that in all the troubles that were to come upon the world, they ſhould not be *an haire the worſer* (*h*): The rivers emptie themſelves into the Sea, and the Sea fils all their channels againe, and ſo will the Lord returne backe whatſoever his ſervants lay out upon him, nay they ſhall be gainers, *they ſcatter and are the more encreaſed* (*i*).

(*f*) Heb. 10. 34
(*g*) Marke 10. 30.
(*h*) Luk. 21. 12
(*i*) Prov. 11. 24.

Now wee are come to the laſt point. The Lords intimation of the remedy, *let me alone that, &c.* which how howſoever it ſeemeth to be a prevention of *Moſes* his mediation, yet as *Auguſtine* well obſerves, the words doe not carry in them a prohibition of *Moſes* praying, but an intimation of the remedy that would ſtay his hand from deſtroying; and an indirect incouragement to the uſe of this remedy of prayer for them, whetting his deſires, and blowing backe the flame to make it burne the faſter; and this uſe *Moſes* made of it; for in the next Verſe wee finde him earneſtly praying and mediating for them; ſo that from hence this truth naturally ariſeth;

Non præcipiendo, ſed monendo et exprimendo quid illum a ſupplicio revocet. Aug. in Exo. q. 149.

Doctr. 6. *That the fervent prayers of Gods people are the moſt effectuall meanes to ſave a ſtiff-necked people from preſent ruine.*

This here the Lord intimates, and the event proved it ſo; for upon the earneſt prayer of *Moſes* we finde, Verſe 14. that the Lord *changed his minde from the evill he intended againſt them* (*a*), and which he had brought upon them, *had not Moſes ſtood in the gap* (*b*).

(*a*) Exod. 32. 14.
(*b*) Pſal. 106. 23.

We reade that the prayers of the Church did great things on the behalfe of *Peter* (*c*), brake open the priſon doores, made his chaines fall off, made the Iron gate flie open of its owne accord, and ſo removed all obſtacles that might hinder his enlargement; I confes here were the prayers of many for one, & ſo the leſſe wōder: but we may reade of *Jacob* (*d*) that when his brother came againſt him with an army, he alone by his prayers and teares ſo prevailed with God that he obtained a glorious victory, not conquering the Army, but overcomming his brothers heart, that all ended in brotherly complements, & expreſſions of love in a ſweet agreement.

(*c*) Act. 12. 5, 6, &c.
(*d*) Hoſ. 12. 4. Gen. 32. 24. & 33. 4.

We finde one *Lot* prevailing for a whole Citie (*f*), and *Abraham* for five Cities (*g*), and *Deborah* by her prayers trode downe the Churches enemies (*h*): And if faſting and prayer will caſt out devils

(*f*) Gen. 19. 20
(*g*) Gen. 18. 32.
(*h*) Jud. 5. 21.

Devils, why not the Churches enemies (*i*)? and if the prayer of faith will ſave a ſicke perſon from the naturall death (*k*), why not a ſicke dying State from a civill death?

(*i*) Mat. 17. 21
(*k*) Iam. 5. 15.

And yet howſoever the prayers of Gods people are effectuall meanes, yet have we no certaine aſſurance that they ſhall actually ſave ſuch a ſtiffe-necked people from ruine; and therefore we finde the promiſes made to encourage men to ſeeke the Lord in a time of publike danger, for ſuch a people, to be ſet downe in a doubtfull manner with an (if) in reſpect of the contingencie of the event: *if God will thinke upon us that we periſh not* (*l*), and *who knoweth if God will turne from his fierce wrath that we periſh not* (*m*)?

(*l*) Jona. 1. 6.
(*m*) Jona. 3. 9. Jo. 2. 14.

For firſt, their prayers may be ſo faulty in the manner, that they may become vaine and fruitleſſe performances (*n*); and Saint *James* tels us that oftentimes the cauſe why men are not ſucceſſefull in their deſignes, is either becauſe they *ſought not God* by prayer, or failed in the manner, *Yee have not becauſe yee aske amiſſe* (*o*).

(*n*) Iſa. 1. 13.
(*o*) Iam. 4. 2, 3.

Or ſecondly, the ſinnes of a Nation may be ſo great in themſelves, and ſo aggravated, and the Lord ſo *wearied in repenting* (*p*), in often calling backe his anger, and reverſing his ſentence that had gone out againſt them, that he peremptorily reſolves to repent no more: yea *though Daniel, Noah, and Joab*, though holy men ſhould *entreat for them, yet ſhall they ſave but their owne ſoules* (*q*).

(*p*) Ier. 15. 6.
(*q*) Ezek. 14. 14.

Or thirdly, the ſafety of a Nation is but a temporall bleſſing, though a great one, and we have no abſolute promiſe to obtaine them by our prayers: indeed ſpirituall mercies are *bona abſoluta*, and *bona bonum habentem facientia*, they are ever good to him that hath them, and therefore we have an abſolute promiſe to ſpeed in our prayers for them: he will never deny *things truly good* to them that aske. But outward bleſſings are only *bona reſpectiva*, good in reference to certain ends, ſomtimes by accident they make the poſſeſſor worſe, and ſometimes the deniall of an outward mercy makes way for a greater; and ſo oftentimes it comes to paſſe that *negando accipimus*, we receive a mercy in Gods deniall, we may have the end of our prayer in the deniall of the forme.

Mat. 7. 11. Luke 11. 13.

Howſoever yet the prayers of Gods people are the proper remedy to ſave a ſtiffe-necked people that will not repent, it is all that can be done for them.

For firſt, it is the moſt effectuall meanes to appeaſe the wrath of God, and to ſtay him from deſtroying: as *Abigails* humble entreaty prevailed with *David*.

1 Sam. 25. 24. 32.

Secondly, it is certaine that if prayer like *Noahs* Dove, be ſent forth, it ſhall never returne without an Olive branch, either with tidings of an abatement of the generall deluge, for the common good: or at leaſt it ſhall *returne* with much comfort and peace *into your petitioner boſome.*

Pſal. 35. 19.

And thirdly, as nothing without it can ſave ſuch a ſtiffe-necked Nation, ſo if any thing will doe it, the prayers of Gods people will, and therefore the effectuall prayers of Gods people ſhould be procured in a time of danger: as the Mariners did *Jonahs* in the ſtorme, and the *Ninivites* cried mightily when their City was in danger, though but upon this ground, *Who knoweth what the Lord may doe?*

Jon. 1. 6.

Jon. 3. 9.

Outward meanes indeed are not to be neglected: as we muſt not idolize the meanes, in truſting in them; ſo neither tempt God in neglecting of them.

Sometimes indeed the Lord will doe the worke by his own immediate hand, *then the people are to ſtand ſtil and ſee the ſalvation of God:* But ordinarily the arme of the Lord workes by the hand of *Moſes*, all that is in our power muſt be done by us; our Saviour told his Diſciples, that howſoever whiles he was perſonally preſent with them, he did miraculouſly provide for their ſuſtentation, and protection without ſcrip or ſword, and they found no want of theſe meanes: yet after his aſcenſion, they muſt uſe ordinary meanes, a ſcrip and a ſword muſt be procured, yea, then a ſword more neceſſary then a coat, *ſell thy coat and buy a ſword.* In ſaving the Ship in that tempeſt in the firſt of *Jonah*, as they were praying and crying to the Deity for helpe, ſo they ſpared neither coſt nor paines to helpe themſelves, they rowed hard, *verſ.* 5. and threw out their goods, *verſ.* 15. And when enraged *Eſau* came with an army againſt his brother *Jacob* and his family: as *Jacob* wraſtled with God by his teares and prayers, ſo withall he uſed prudent and ſubmiſſive endeavours for a pacification.

2 Chro. 20. 17.

Iſa. 63. 12.

Luke 22. 36.

Jon. 1. 6. verſ. 5. 13.

Hoſ. 12. 4. Gen. 32. & c. 34. 1.

There muſt be a concurrence of three things to make prayer effectuall to ſave a Nation from ruine.

1. The perſons praying muſt be *holy men*, ſuch as *Moſes* was: for, firſt ſuch only can pray in a ſpirituall manner, as having the ſpirituall gift of prayer: culinary fire is in every houſe, but the element of fire is ſo rare, that it is a queſtion whether there be any ſuch thing exiſtent or no: ſo the naturall gift of prayer is very common,

mon, that is, ſuch a praying faculty, as a naturall man may acquire or have by naturall meanes, as quickneſſe of wit, ſtrength of memory, elocution, and exerciſe in the word and prayer. But ſpirituall prayer the breathing up of holy and ſpirituall deſires, whether for outward or ſpirituall mercies, yet alwayes for ſpirituall ends; this fire comes from Heaven, this ſpirituall giſt of prayer comes from the *Spirit of grace*, that doth *diſponere* and *excitare*, giving both the *habit* and the *act* of prayer; the power to pray, and actuates that power: it brings into the ſoule the fuell of holy deſires, and enkindles them alſo, and ſets then a burning. Secondly, as holy men onely can pray in a ſpirituall manner, ſo their prayers onely are prevalent; for in a ſenſe they are the prayers of Chriſt, indited by his Spirit, put up in his name, and preſented by his mediation, ſo that when ſuch men pray, Chriſt in his members praies and prevailes. Zac. 12. 10. Rom. 8. 27.

2. They muſt be ſuch prayers as *Moſes* his prayers were, earneſt ſtrivings and wraſtlings with God. Verſ. 10, 11, 12, 13.

Firſt, from an heart touched with a deepe ſenſe of our wants; we ſhould offer up prayers and ſupplications *with ſtrong cries and teares*, as our Saviour did in the dayes of his fleſh; with ſighs and groanes unutterable, earneſt ejaculations, like darts ſhot up to Heaven, out of an affectionate heart; our ſpirits in their deſires, like *Noahs Arke*, ſhould riſe the higher, as the waters grow deeper, and the flouds greater: ſo we finde that Chriſt prayed the more earneſtly, when in that bitter agony; formall cold prayers, like *Cæſars* hartleſſe Sacrifice, will not profit us, nor finde acceptance with God: painted fire as it hath no heate, ſo it is of no uſe: it is an argument that we diſeſteeme and undervalue a mercy, when we conceive ſuch cold prayers to be fit meanes to procure it. Heb. 5 7. Rom. 8. 26. Luke. 22. 36.

Secondly, our prayers muſt be argumentative, perſuaſive entreaties; preſſing the Lord with arguments: we muſt plead with God, and reaſon the matter with him, by reverent expoſtulations: the Lord is well pleaſed to *be reaſoned withall* by ſuch as are *reformed* and *waſhed*, eſpecially in his owne language: indeed we can plead nothing that is in us to move the Lord to mercy; but what is in his nature, his Chriſt, his promiſes: we have many examples of this kinde of prayer in Scripture, as it is acceptable to God, ſo very prevalent with him: as here we finde that *Moſes* thus prayed and prevailed, *verſ.* 14. Iſa. 1. 16. 17. Exod. 32. 14.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, as *Moſes* in his, ſo we in our prayers, ſhould not only ſtrive againſt the preſent outward judgement, but eſpecially againſt the power and guilt of ſinne, that cauſe the judgement: ſo did *Moſes* here as we ſee, *verſ.* 31, 32. he confeſſeth and bewaileth their ſinne, and cries unto the Lord for pardon of it, that ſo the Nation might be every whit whole. We ought not onely to ſtrive againſt the plague without, but againſt the plague of *the heart*: not onely againſt warres and contentions, but againſt pride, covetouſneſſe, ambition, and ſuch other *luſts* of the heart, from whence they come.

Ex. 32. 31, 32.
Ioh. 7. 23.
1 King. 8. 38.
Iam. 4. 1.
Prov. 13. 10.

We ſhould not onely as Chirurgions looke at the outward wound of the Kingdome, and ſeeke the cure of that by outward applications, but like the Phyſitian, looke into the cauſes of theſe evils, and labour to procure a remedy for thoſe inward diſtempers, whence the outward doe ſpring.

If we have not the evils removed that provoke the wrath of God, by a through reformation, as well as the outward judgement: if by true repentance peace be not made with God as well as an outward peace in the Kingdome, ſurely though the outward evils be cut off, yet like *Sampſons* haire, they will grow againe; if we cut off onely the branches, the root will ſprout againe.

Now therefore ſuch prayers as *Moſes* uſed, by ſuch men as *Moſes* was, and in ſuch an order as *Moſes* did, are moſt effectuall means to ſave a ſinfull Nation in time of the greateſt danger.

Now the reaſons why ſuch prayers are ſo effectuall for the ſaving of a Kingdome in danger, are three.

Reaſ. 1. Firſt, becauſe prayer deales with God and inclines him to favour and pitie a people: now it is God that *wounds and heales, ſpoyles and ſaves*: he raiſeth the ſtorme, and calmes it againe: judgements like the *Centurions* ſervants, goe and come at his command: and therefore if we be troubled and arreſted by judgements for the debt of our ſinnes, it is proper to make our peace with God, and agree with the Creditor, no matter for the Sergeant: if Dogges fly upon us, it is moſt proper to ſpeake to their Maſter to call them off, who firſt ſet them on.

Hoſ. 6. 1.

And howſoever prayer cannot change, or cauſe God to alter his eternall unchangeable decree, yet it cauſeth him to recall his preſent ſentence, that is gone out againſt a people: *mutat ſententiam, non decretum*, ſaith *Greg.*

Greg. mor. l. 2. *c.* 24.

And

And indeed Gods eternall decree takes in the meanes as well as the end: ſo that according to Gods decree when his ſentence of ruine is gone out againſt a Nation, prayer and other meanes fall in, to hinder execution: and ſo his decree ſtands, the preſent ſentence onely fals, as we ſee in the caſe of *Hezechiah*, the *Ninivites*, and the *Iſraelites* here in my text.

Secondly, becauſe prayer workes on mens owne hearts, and makes them fit for, and capable of a mercy: and indeed for the Lord to beſtow a mercy on a people, before they are fit for it, were *to put new wine into old bottles*, the mercy is loſt, and the receiver hurt by it: therefore the Lord is ready to beſtow mercies, and *waits* untill wee are ready to receive them. God is as ready to give mercies as a womans breaſts to give milke, he waits but for our drawing: Now prayer draws the hearts of men nearer to God, and ſo puts them into a poſture fitter for mercies: it drawes downe fitneſſe from God, it empties the heart of ſelfe, and takes in more of God, and when prayer brings a mercy from Heaven it fits a man in thankfulneſſe, by an holy uſe of it, to ſend it backe thither againe: as *Hanna*, when by prayer ſhe had obtained a ſonne of the Lord, ſhe gave him to the Lord againe. Reaſ. 2. Matth. 9. 17. Iſa. 30. 18. 1 Sam. 1. 28.

Thirdly, becauſe prayer carries God along with the meanes, and cauſeth him to cooperate: howſoever ſecondary cauſes have their cauſality and efficiencie put into them by God with their formes in their firſt creation, yet there muſt be a concurrence of the firſt cauſe to make them put forth their ſtrength, and actually to effect things: and therefore ſecond cauſes and means, as the King of *Iſrael* told the woman, *cannot helpe, if the Lord doe not concurre.* What can the pipe do if the ſpring deny it water? The Lord doth ſometime ſuſpend the power of meanes, ſometimes enlarge it above its naturall pitch, as it ſeemes good unto him: if the Lord cooperate with the meanes, how weake ſoever, they ſhall doe the worke: *The ſword of Gedeon* ſhall doe great things, *if the ſword of the Lord goes with it.* Reaſ. 3. 2 King. 6. 26. 1 Sam. 14. 6. Rom. 8. 31. Jud. 7. 20.

Now prayer carries God into the Army, and engageth him in a juſt warre to take his peoples part, and to fight with them and for them, as we ſhall ſhew anon. And therefore when the inhabitants of *Jeruſalem* were making fortifications, and warlike preparations againſt their enemies, the Prophet blames them for not looking up to God in the meanes, and the Lord cals them to adde

Iſay 22.11,12. faſting and other ſpirituall fortifications to their outward, to make them effectuall.

Before I come to Application, I deſire to anſwer two queſtions.

1. Whether the cries and prayers of wicked men can availe any thing, either for themſelves or others.

2. How the prayers of ſome can be availeable for others, eſpecially being abſent.

To which queſtions that I may give the more ſatisfying anſwer, I deſire to premiſe certaine diſtinctions.

1. *Diſtinct.* 1. Crying is taken two wayes. { 1. Properly, for the putting up of a petition or prayer. 2. Improperly, for the expreſſion of the creatures miſery by the moane and cry that it makes.

Now indeed, the cry and moane of the creature often moves the Lord in mercy to ſuccour it: as the cry and moane of the babe, (though it makes no formall requeſt) maketh the mothers bowels to yerne with compaſſion towards it, and to ſuccour it: ſo the (*a*)Pſal. 145.9 Lords mercy being *over all his workes* (*a*), exceeding great, and extended to all his creatures, his mercy is drawne forth to ſuccour them at the ſight of their miſery: and thus he is ſaid to heare the (*b*) Pſal.147.9 cry of the Ravens (*b*), becauſe he is moved to relieve this poore (*c*)Pſal.78.34 creature in its miſery. So *Pſal.* 78. (*c*) when the wicked were in 35,36,37,38. *diſtreſſe* and earneſtly *cryed to the Lord*, though *their heart was not upright with him, yet the Lord in mercy called backe his anger, and deſtroyed them not*: Now the Lord did not this in anſwer to their prayers, but as an act of mercy at the ſight of their miſery, expreſſed by their cries.

The queſtion then is, touching wicked mens prayers and cryes properly taken. Concerning them take another diſtinction.

2. *Diſtinct.* Prayer may bee taken, { 1. Strictly, for the putting up of a formall requeſt or petition to God. 2. Largely, for the exerciſe of prayer in its ordinary uſe.

Now the exerciſe of prayer by reaſon of many divine truths inſerted in it, as confeſſions of ſinnes, declarations of Gods nature and promiſes, and preſſed as arguments, if not to move the Lord, yet to move our owne hearts, all which truths being reflected backe upon the ſoule, may poſſibly, through a concurrence of Gods

Gods ſpirit, beget faith, bring the ſoule into frame, yea it may become unto the ſpeaker and hearers a converting ordinance, and ſo make a man capable of mercies, and thus the prayers even of wicked men may be availeable to the ſpeaker and hearer, whether good or bad, by way of cauſation.

But ſecondly for prayer properly and ſtrictly taken for the putting up of deſires to God, by way of petition, a wicked man hath no promiſe to ground his hope of prevailing upon, as anon I ſhall more clearely ſhew. In the meane time conſider of another diſtinction, and it runs thus.

Prayer is to bee conſidered, and is availeable 3. wayes.
1. As it is a *Petition* put up to God, and ſo it availes *via impetrationis*, by way of impetration. 3. *Diſtinct.*
2. As it is an *exerciſe* of the ſoule, and of the graces in it, whether common or ſaving, and ſo it availes *via cauſationis*, by way of cauſation.
3. As it is a *commanded dutie*, and a principall part of Gods ſervice, wherein wee give God the glory of his omniſcience, mercy, power and wiſedome; and ſo it availes *via retributionis*, by way of retribution.

Indeed the benefits which God beſtoweth upon men, in reference to their workes, whether formally good, or materially onely, are properly called Gods gifts, as comming from him, by free donation, and are tearmed *rewards* not *properly*, but onely *analogically*, as being given *ſecundum non propter opera*, not *for* but onely *according* to our workes (*a*).

(*a*) Rom. 2.5.

In the fourth place, Prayer being taken as a meanes of procuring ſpirituall and outward bleſſings,

Is to be conſidered two wayes.
First, in the naturall uſe; and ſo it is a naturall mans meanes. 4. *Diſtinct.*
Secondly, in the ſpirituall uſe; and ſo it is a ſpirituall mans meanes.

Media or meanes are ſo called becauſe in the midſt betweene *can* and *can not*, God hath appointed us in the uſe of ſuch meanes as we can, to ſeeke to him, for what we can not.

Now a ſpirituall mans meanes is praying in faith, in a ſpirituall manner, that is appointed him to uſe *as meanes*, for procurement of what he wants.

But a naturall mans meanes, appointed him, to uſe *as meanes*, is

not praying in faith in a ſpirituall manner (for that hee cannot doe) but the naturall worke of prayer onely, ſuch prayer as a naturall man can uſe.

Flying in the ayre is not a *mans* meanes of comming to a place, that is a *Birds* meanes, but going or riding is a mans meanes: ſpirituall prayer is a holy mans meanes, naturall praying is the meanes of a naturall man.

Indeed, the ſpirituall uſe of prayer is enjoyned as a dutie, which though he cannot performe, yet ought he to deſire and labour after; onely the naturall worke of prayer is required of him as a *meanes* of procurement of what he wants.

(a) Iſay 26.8. Now a naturall man, though he be not ſure to ſpeed, yet ought he to *waite for God in the way of his judgements*: (a) his ordinances are his walke wherein often he is, and poſſibly may bee found: and therefore ſuch meanes are to be uſed even of naturall men: as we may ſee *Ezek.*36. where the Lord having promiſed juſtification, ſanctification, and withall divers outward bleſſings, at laſt hee addes, *Verſ.*37. *Yet I will be ſought unto that I may doe it unto them*: and therefore *Daniel* 9. (c) complaines, that they did not ſo much as *pray that they might turne unto God.* Indeed, ſpirituall prayer is *conditio ſubſequens*, and followes our converſion, but the naturall worke of prayer is *conditio antecedens*, and may and ought to goe before it: And for the efficacie of a naturall mans prayer, I ſhall endeavour preſently to ſhew it in my anſwer to the firſt queſtion propounded concerning the efficacie of the prayers of wicked men.

Ezek.36. 37.

(c) Dan.4.13. Hoſ.5.4.

1. *Queſt.* My anſwer to that firſt queſtion I preſent unto you thus.

Firſt, Prayer conſidered as a dutie, muſt be performed even of wicked men, as being good in it ſelfe, though by accident *turned into ſinne* (d), and howſoever not being made in faith, *it cannot pleaſe God*, (e) in ſuch ſort as holy mens doe, yet being good for the ſubſtance of the dutie, giving God the glory of ſundry of his attributes, it may perhaps availe for procurement of a temporall bleſſing by way of *retribution*: as the Phariſees prayers had the reward of mens praiſes (a): And ſo *Ahabs* humiliation, and the *Ninivites* repentance procured a delay of temporall judgements.

(d) Pſal.107.7
(e) Heb.11.6.

(a) Matth 6.5.

Secondly, a wicked mans prayer conſidered as an exerciſe of the ſoule, and of ſome common graces that are in it, and eſpecially argumentative prayer may perhaps availe, through the helpe

helpe of Gods ſpirit by way of *cauſation*, bringing his ſoule into a better frame, and ſo making it capable of ſpirituall and outward bleſſings.

But thirdly, a wicked mans prayer conſidered as a petition put up to God, we cannot ſay it will availe by way of impetration.

1. *Sort.* Indeed, there are two ſorts of wicked men. Firſt, ſuch as do what they can in breaking off the outward practiſe of ſinne, and doe carefully performe the naturall worke of prayer, and doe what a naturall man can, in the uſe of meanes, howſoever they cannot ground their hopes of prevailing upon any promiſe, and ſo upon Gods faithfulneſſe, as being out of Chriſt, and therefore cannot pray with aſſurance of prevailing: yet they may ground their hope of prevailing upon the mercy of a gracious God, wayting on God in the way of his ordinances, in hope that God in mercy will doe ſomething for poore creatures; Who knoweth what God may doe? The *Ninivites* went upon this ground, and it fell out happily, the Citie was ſpared.

2. *Sort.* There is a ſecond ſort of wicked men that ſecurely live in their ſinnes, following the ſway of their luſts, and continuing in actuall rebellion againſt him, & yet in their extremitie doe *cry unto the Lord* for ſuccour: as for theſe, the Lord threatens, that though they cryed earneſtly to God (*b*), and were frequent in the uſe of prayer, *making many prayers* (*c*), yet the Lord will not heare them, he will throw away their petitions, as being an abomination unto him (*d*).

(*b*) Mic. 3. 4.
(*c*) Iſay 1. 15, 16.
(*d*) Prov. 28 9

2. *Queſt.* For anſwer to the ſecond queſtion, how farre forth the prayer of ſome may bee availeable for others, eſpecially being abſent; I ſay;

1. *Caſe.* 1. Sometimes the thing prayed for, is not meerely anothers, and that in two caſes.

Firſt, love may ſo unite the heart of one to the other, that like *Hippocrates* Twins they laugh and weepe together, and ſympathize each in others condition, that in ſuccouring the one, mercy is ſhewed to both.

Secondly, they may bee ſharers in the ſame ſhip, as *Jonah* and the paſſengers with him: or as members of the ſame Commonwealth, in a common danger; all in the ſame condition, ſtand or fall togther; in this caſe alſo hee that prayes againſt a publique calamitie, or for a publique benefit,

prayes for himſelfe as well as for others: and ſo neceſſarily many *reape the fruit of the prayers of ſome.*

2. *Caſe.*

2. In caſe the prayer be meerely for others, then, firſt, by way of *cauſation* the prayer of ſome cannot profit others that are abſent: for in the production of effects, there muſt be betweene the agent and the object, a reall, or at leaſt a virtuall cloſing.

Contactus realis vel virtualis.

Nor ſecondly, the prayer of ſome cannot profit others by way of *retribution*, whether abſent or preſent, for every one ſhall reape the fruite of his owne worke.

But thirdly, the prayer of ſome may prevaile for others, though abſent, by way of *impetration*: Either firſt in reſpect of the prevalency of importunity ſet forth in that parable of the *Widowes* overcomming the *unjuſt judge*, *Luke* 18. 5. 7. or elſe ſecondly upon Gods purpoſe and promiſe of good unto others, upon condition of his ſervants prayers; it being the Lords will that the prayers of his ſervants ſhould give vent to his mercies, that they may flow from God, as water from a full ſpring upon the thirſty ground: as alſo it being the Lords purpoſe to grace his ſervants, in gratifying great Kings and Kingdomes upon their prayers, as hee did *Abimelech* upon the prayer of *Abraham* (*b*), and *Pharaoh* and his kingdome upon the prayer of *Moſes* (*c*).

(*a*) Luke 18. 5. 7.

(*b*) Gen. 20. 7. 17.

(*c*) Exod. 8. 28. 29.

Now the prayers that are uſefull for the ſaving of a Nation from ruine are of two ſorts; Firſt, the prayers of the Nation it ſelfe; Secondly, of Gods owne people for the nation.

I.

Firſt, the prayers of the *nation it ſelfe*, which alſo are two-fold; firſt of the repreſentative body of a nation: for as the proper acts of thoſe organs, which by natures deputation, are appointed for performance of thoſe Acts, for the good of the whole body, as namely of the eye in ſeeing, the tongue in ſpeaking, the eare in hearing, &c. the acts I ſay of thoſe parts are the Acts of the whole man (*a*); ſo the acts of the repreſentative body of a nation, not onely acts civill, but ſacred, even their heart breaking and repenting prayers offered up for a nation in the name of the whole, and that with their if not actuall, yet virtuall conſent; ſurely theſe acts interpretatively are the acts of the nation, and therefore in and by them, the nation prayeth. Secondly, the prayers of the eſſentiall body of a nation: when a kingdome in all its parts, if not all or the moſt men in it *Univerſally*, yet *generally*, all ſorts, of all degrees, in all places, like the Kingdome of *Nineveh* upon the preaching

(*a*) *Totus homo videt &c. non totum hominis.*

preaching of *Jonah*, and command of authoritie (*b*), ſhall be up in prayer, faſting, weeping, reforming, and crying unto the Lord, there were then great hope of an happy iſſue, becauſe the nation prayeth. (*b*) John 3. 5. 6, 7. 10.

Now theſe nationall humiliations and prayers, as the Lord preſcribes them as meanes to ſave a nation, *Iſa.* 22. 12. So have they beene alwayes, performed with great ſucceſſe, as wee ſee in the *Ninivites*, *Jehoſhaphat* and others. Iſay 22. 12. 2 Chro. 20. Jonah 3. 2.

The ſecond ſort of prayers availeable for the procurement of a nations ſafetie, are the prayers of *Gods own faithfull people for the nation*: for though they are very few, yet their prayers are exceeding prevalent for that purpoſe (as hath beene ſhewed) in ſo much that it is noted as a wonder, that ſeldome happens, that the prayers of *Daniel*, *Noah* and *Job*, ſuch holy men, ſhould availe but for the ſafetie of their owne lives (*d*). (*d*) Ezek. 14. 20.

Now their prayers are two wayes conſiderable, either as the petitioners are, { First, diſperſed in ſundry places. Secondly, congregated in aſſemblies.

First, as they are ſcattered here and there throughout the kingdome, and ſo though divided in place, yet as lines from every part of the circumference round about, doe all meet in the center, and as Starres every where round in the heavens doe meet in their influences, and worke ſtrongly on the earth, ſo the heartie prayers of Gods people from all parts of the Kingdome agreeing in the ſame requeſt, with one heart doe all meete at the *throne of grace*, and worke ſtrongly there.

Secondly, the prayers of holy men are conſiderable, as they are conjoyned in congregations, with one heart and mouth to ſeeke the Lord for a nation: for, as a bundle of ſtickes being caſt on the fire, one ſticke ſets another a burning untill all's on a flame, and as *Saul* among the prophets propheſied alſo (*a*); ſo in a congregation, *the zeale of ſome provokes many*, and ſets their hearts a burning: & ſurely the prayers of a Congregation are moſt prevalent; for if the prayer of one *righteous man availes much* (*b*), *and a threefold cord not eaſily broken*, united ſtrength, the joynt prayers of many muſt needs be much more effectuall; if *when two or three godly men ſhall agree upon a requeſt and ſend up their joynt petition to heaven, it ſhall be granted*, as our Saviour hath promiſed (*c*), how much more ſhall the joynt petition of hundreds of holy men in a Congregation? (*a*) 1 Sam. 19. 23. (*b*) Jam. 5. 16. (*c*) Matth. 18. 19.

But

Object. But you will object, indeed If our Congregations did conſiſt onely of Saints, their prayers would be very prevalent, but alas it is otherwiſe with us.

Anſw. I anſwer, that it is true, that the prayers of ſuch a Congregation is exceeding prevalent: And yet we finde *Joel* 2. and *Jona.*3.

Joel. 2. 15,16. that in a time of publike danger, they ſhould *gather a Congregation*

Jon. 3. 5. 7. *and call an Aſſembly* of all ſorts and ages, yea *ſucking children* not excluded to ſeeke the Lord: and at *Ninive* we finde that even the brute creatures did beare a part in the Faſt. For howſoever, (as hath beene ſhewed) onely Gods ſervants can ground their hopes upon a promiſe: yet all that ſtand not in open rebellion againſt God, can ground their hopes upon the mercie of a gracious God as the *Ninivites* did.

Yea, brute creatures, and poore babes, that cannot put up a formall prayer, yet their moane and cry, as being all loſt in the common calamity, may move the Lord to mercy, (as we have ſhewed)

Jon. 4. 11. and we accordingly finde that the moane of the *one hundred and twenty thouſand infants of Ninive*; *yea, of the cattle*, did much move the Lord to pitie.

From this Doctrine we may inferre two corollaries.

Corol. 1. Firſt, when the Lord intends to *ſave* a Nation, he drawes up the hearts, at leaſt of his owne people, to ſeeke it: as when he intends a ſhower to the earth, he drawes up the vapours, and fils his bottles, ſo when he intends to refreſh a people with a ſhower of mercies, he not onely gives to a competent number the ſpirit of prayer, but draweth out their hearts in the actuall performance of

Ier. 29. 10. 12, 13, 14. the duty. As we may ſee, *Jer.* 29. by comparing the 10. 12, 13, 14. *verſes* together, that when the time approached which the Lord intended for the deliverance of his Church out of captivity, then he cauſed the earneſt prayers of his people to fall in, as the meanes to effect it: *then* (ſaith the text) *ſhall they pray and cry to the Lord with all their hearts*; and thereupon the Lord was found of them, and turned away their captivity.

Corol. 2. Secondly, when the Lord intends to *deſtroy* a people, he ſo carrieth things about in his providence, that his peoples prayers

Ier. 7. 14, 15, 16. ſhall be wanting. We finde *Jer.* 7. that when the Lord by an irrevocable decree had determined the deſtruction of the *Jewiſh* State, he prohibits his Prophets praying for them. Where there is upon good ground a totall deſpaire of a thing, there will, yea and ought

ought to be a totall receſſe, and falling off from uſe of meanes to effect a thing in it ſelfe, and in our apprehenſion, not feceable. And therefore the Creators decree, being either by the event, or by his revelation, made certainly knowne, the creature muſt ſubmit: the Prophet, though his heart was much ſet upon that State, yet muſt not ſtruggle againſt the knowne will of God. Now howſoever we have no ſuch prohibition; the Lords decree being hidden from us, ſo long as a Nation hath being, we ought not to ceaſe praying: yet when the Lord intendeth the ruine of a Nation, either the Lord takes away his *Lots* into his mountaine, and leaves not any conſiderable number of holy men, morally none, *not a man to ſtand in the gap*: or he takes off the hearts of his people, and ſuffers them, as he did *Jonah*, to be aſleepe when the Ship is in greateſt danger: or he lets the ſpirits of his people fall, as being diſcouraged, or weary, or withdrawes the breathings of his Spirit in their hearts: and ſo prayer being gone, the gap is open, the judgement breakes in upon a Nation.

Ier. 13. 17.

Ezek. 22. 30. Ion. 1. 6. Luke 18. 1.

And now for Uſe and Application.

1. This Doctrine teacheth us, that in a warre, that ſide which hath the prayers of Gods people, hath a great advantage, their prayers ſet up or pull downe a ſide: it is not the falling in of the great multitude with ſwords and ſpeares, (though yet this God uſeth as a meanes) but the unfained falling in of Gods people with their prayers, and teares, that turnes the ſcale: a few *Jacobs* wraſtling with God, can doe more then a thouſand of others: and ſpirituall weapons can doe more then naturall. *Uſe* 1.

Luther was wont to call the prayers of Gods people, his *great Ordnance*; and a praying people are the horſemen, and the Chariots of *Iſrael*. In that famous battell againſt the *Amalekites*, *the prayers of Moſes* gave a ſenſible advantage to *Iſraels* ſide, and indeed the victory. The bringing of the Arke into the hoſt, put courage into the *Iſraelites*, in ſo much that they ſhouted for joy, but it ſtruck a terrour into the *Philiſtims*, they cryed, *O woe unto us! God is come into the hoſt*: effectuall prayers bring God into an army, and carries him along with them, fighting *for them againſt their enemies*.

Exod. 17. 11. 1 Sam. 4. 5. 7, 8

When *Jonathan* and his Armor-bearer were to ſet upon the *Garriſon* of the Philiſtims, *Jonathan* went upon this ground, that the ſucceſſe of a warre or a battell depended not principally upon multitude of men, but upon Gods cooperating with them: we

1 Sam. 14. 6.

are indeed the weaker ſide (ſaith he) but it is no matter for that,
Verſe 45. if God worketh with us: now we finde *verſ.* 45. he wrought with God, doing his worke, in a dependance upon him, and you ſee
Verſ. 14,15,16 what a great victory the Lord gave him.

Uſe 2. Secondly, this Doctrine diſcovers unto us, that ſuch as doe oppoſe and ſeeke to hinder the prayers of Gods people for a Nation, are enemies unto it: for though perhaps *ex intentione agentis*, they ſeeke not intentionally therein the Kingdomes ruine, yet *ex natura rei*, they doe that which in its nature tends that way, they do with *Sampſon*, endeavour to pull away the Pillars that doe uphold the State: they open the breaches, and ſeeke the removall of *them that*
Pſal. 106. 23. *ſtand in the gap*, and ſo let in the wrath of God into our Land.
Ezek. 22. 30. As the Pelican in ſeeking to blow out the fire, kindled about her young ones, with her wings, the flame thereby was increaſed, her wings burnt, and ſo became a prey: ſo theſe that by their perſecution of Gods people, and by their evill ſpeeches, doe ſeeke to blow out this flame of zealous prayer in the Land, by their oppoſition, that fire will increaſe, and they procure their
Revel. 11. 5. owne ruine. *For fire ſhall goe out of the witneſſes mouths, and conſume their adverſaries.*

Uſe 3. In the third place it affords us a caveat, to beware that we doe not marre this engine in the uſing: Prayer is indeed of great uſe, and of ſingular efficacie, to ſave a Nation in a time of danger:
Iam. 4. 3. provided we uſe it not amiſſe, as Saint *James* ſpeaketh. When men make *many prayers, and yet their hands full of blood*, when *they*
Iſa. 1. 15. *houle and cry, and yet rebell againſt God: they pray and yet grow worſe*
Hoſ. 7. 14. *and worſe*: thus an effectuall meanes of ſaving a Nation, is marred
Ier. 3, 4, 5. in the uſing: and prayer to ſuch a people, like the Arke among the
1 Sam. 6. *Philiſtims*, provokes the Lords anger, and doth a people more hurt then good. We finde in *Iſa.* 58. that the people ſought the
Iſa. 58. Lord by a daily uſe of his ordinances, they drew neare to God by an outward performance of them, in hearing, in faſting, and praying, as if they had beene the *moſt righteous Nation* in the world,
Verſ. 2. *verſ.* 2. And they complaine and expoſtulate with God, as if he
Verſ. 3. had not dealt well with them in *not regarding their Faſts, verſ.* 3.

Now therefore the Lord anſwers, it's true, faſting is a ſervice that I require, as a moſt effectuall meanes of ſafety in a time of
Verſ. 4. 5. danger. But (ſaith he) *Is this the Faſt that I have choſen*? to hang the head *like a bulruſh*, with an outward ſhew of humiliation,

whiles

whiles the guſte of Gods wrath is over? to hang the head, and the heart not dejected? to pinch your bodies, and feede your luſts? *to faſt to ſtrife and debate, and ſmite with the fiſt of wickednesſe*? to faſt and pray, and yet live in ſtrife and oppreſſion? ſurely ſuch prayers *will never be heard above.* But ſaith the Lord, *verſe* 6, 7. Faſt and pray as yee ought to doe, as the Lord hath preſcribed; not ſo much *with rent garments*, with outward ſhewes, (though even this ought to be likewiſe) but come before the Lord with *rent* and wounded hearts, and broken bleeding *ſpirits*, for your owne ſinnes, and the ſinnes of the Land: and with an unfained purpoſe of breaking off, of your owne and others ſinnes, by a through reformation, both perſonall and nationall. And then *verſ.* 8, 9, 10, yee ſhall ſoone have a gracious anſwer to your prayers from the Lord, and proſperity ſhall come like light after darkneſſe, as the morning after a ſad darke night of adverſity: yea the *Almighty ſhall ſhine upon your Tabernacles*, as in former times. Now therefore the ſame caveat which our Saviour gives for hearing, let me givee for praying, Take heed how yee pray.

Verſ. 4. Verſ. 6. 7. Jo. 2 13. Verſ. 8, 9, 10 Job 29. 4. Luke 8. 18.

Uſe 4. In the fourth place, the conſideration of the premiſſes may ſhew us what to thinke of the preſent condition of our Kingdome, and how the Lord intends to deale with us.

If we looke upon the face of the Kingdome, we cannot deny but the wickedneſſe of the Land is very great, the ſinnes great in themſelves, univerſally ſpread, many wayes aggravated, and people hardened by the refuſall of grace offered in the meanes, and ſo like the *Iſraelites* a ſtiffenecked people, which is ground of feare.

But then withall it cannot be denied, but that ſtill we are the *Lords flocke*, a true viſible Church, having the true Religion profeſſed among us, and that we have many of the true ſervants of God among us, for whoſe ſake we have cauſe to hope that the Lord will ſpare the Nation.

Againe, we have indeed the forme of godlineſſe among us, and doe draw neare to God in praying, hearing, faſting, and in the uſe of all the ordinances, as if we were a moſt righteous Nation, which is matter of *comfort*.

But withall there is a generall want of the power, the ſoule, and the life of godlineſſe, they pray and faſt, and yet their hands full of bloud, they pray, and yet grow worſe and worſe, this is matter of feare.

Indeed our Ship is in jeopardy, the winds and waves very ſtrong upon it: and ſome holy men (though I hope not many) not affected with it, no more then *Jonah* in the ſtorme: the *Amalekites* are many and ſtrong, our enemies that are riſen up againſt us, are many and extreamly enraged, which is matter of *feare.*

But then we know they are Gods enemies as well as ours, and we have many holy men every where like *Moſes*, mediating and interceding for us as *Moſes* for *Iſrael*: like *Abraham* putting up prayer after prayer, as he for ſinfull *Sodome*: and with *Jacob* wraſtling day and night with the Lord for us, which is ground of *comfort.*

So that like *Nabuchadnezzars* image, we ſtand upon feete part of iron, and part of clay; ſtaggering betweene hope and feare: we doe not certainly know what the Lord will doe. But for our comfort we finde that the prayers of *Moſes* reverſed the Lords ſentence gone out then againſt ſtiffenecked *Iſrael*, and we hope the like prayers may prevaile for ſinfull *England.*

Vſe 5. The fifth and laſt is a Uſe of exhortation, which is three-fold.

1. *Part.* 1. To all men whatſoever, to ſtirre them up to a twofold duty.

Firſt, that by true repentance they would *gather themſelves to ſeeke the Lord*: that they would labour to get into ſuch a condition, that they might be able to doe ſome good to themſelves and others by their prayers. Firſt, the Kingdome is in danger, and hath need of good mens prayers, perhaps there may want five of the Lords number, perhaps there may want but a man to ſtand in the gap, a few may turne the ſcale: If not, yet, ſecondly, thou ſhalt ſave thine owne ſoule: at leaſt thy prayer ſhall be with much comfort *returned into thine owne boſome*: whereas if we doe not get into a praying condition, *What will yee doe in the day of deſtruction, whither will yee flie, and with whom will yee leave your glory?* there is no creature on earth to fly unto, or in whoſe hands we can ſafely depoſite any thing that is deare unto us: now when we have no friends on earth, to have God an enemy too; to have our hearts ſhut up that we cannot pray, and heaven alſo that we cannot prevaile, ſurely this condition is wofull. Now therefore we ſhould labour for the Kingdomes ſake, and our owne, to get into a praying condition.

Gen. 18. Ezek. 22. 30.

Pſal. 35. 13.

Iſa. 10. 3.

But if you will not be perſwaded to this, yet ſecondly bee intreated

treated at leaſt thus farre, by all loving and reſpectfull uſage to give encouragement to holy men, to be much in prayer for the Land: the *Perſians* were wont to give divine honour to the Sunne, not ſo much becauſe it was ſo glorious a creature, but becauſe an inſtrument of ſo much good to the world, all creatures by its light & influence being preſerved and refreſhed: though we doe not deifie the publike inſtruments of good to Church or State, yet good reaſon we ſhould love and honour them, and eſpecially thoſe that are *the ſervants of the moſt high God*, who are *a bleſſing in the middeſt of the earth*: they have power to doe great things, as *being the friends of God*, and having *a prevailing power with God*. And therefore ſeeing their prayers like the prayers of *Moſes* are ſo uſefull to the Church of God, good reaſon all ſhould endeavour with *Aaron* and *Hurr* to keepe up their hearts and hands in prayer. Act. 16. 2. Iſa. 19. 29 Iſa. 41. 8. Hoſ. 12. 3.

2. *Part.*

The ſecond part of the exhortation is unto Gods owne ſervants: earneſtly to exhort them, as *Mordecai* did *Eſther* (*a*), to goe to the King of heaven, as hee to King *Ahaſhueroſh*, and make petition and ſupplication before him for themſelves and the kingdome: So the Prophet *Zephaniah* (*b*) finding little hope of prevailing in his exhortation to repentance, in the two firſt Verſes, at the third Verſe he addreſſeth himſelfe to Gods owne people, and exhorteth them *to ſeeke the Lord*, that if they could not prevaile for the land, that yet themſelvs might be *hid in the day of the Lords wrath*: as you can ſee further into the kingdomes danger then others, by an eye of faith, ſeeing the ſword ſtretched out over our *Jeruſalem* ready to deſtroy it: ſo alſo you are neere to the Lord, and have more intereſt in him, than *Eſther* had with that *Perſian* King; you have the gift of prayer, you have this powerfull engine to effect great things: and *ſhall there be a price in your hands, and not an heart to uſe it*? God forbid. Therefore give mee leave to extend the Prophet *Iſays* exhortation, *Iſay* 62. 6. 7. principally intended to the Lords watchmen, unto all Gods people, all yee that are mindfull of the Lord, whether watchmen or people, keepe not ſilence, give the Lord no reſt, bee inſtant with him day and night for our *Jeruſalem*: and as the Shipmaſter awakened *Jonah*, checked him for his ſecuritie when the ſhip was in danger, and preſt him to call upon the Lord for the common ſafetie: ſo our ſhip being in the like danger, let me exhort you to the ſame dutie, and preſſe my exhortation with the ſame argument, even earneſtly to call upon

(*a*) Eſth. 4. 8.

(*b*) Zeph. 2. 3.

Prov. 22. 3. 2 Sam. 24. 16.

Prov. 17. 16. Iſa. 62. 6, 7.

Ion. 1. 6.

upon God, if ſo be that the Lord will thinke upon us, that wee periſh not; and that you would entreat and plead with God for England as *Moſes* here did for *Iſrael.*

3. *Part.* The third part is to you my Lords and Gentlemen of the Parliament: As the Lord hath raiſed you up above your brethren, and as it were with *Moſes* ſet you with him upon the Mount, ſo my humble requeſt unto you is, that you will labour to bee holy as *Moſes* was, fit to come neare the Lord, and to ſpeake unto him: And then like *Moſes* to be deepely affected with your owne and *Iſraels* ſinnes, and earneſtly to entreate and pleade with God for that people whom you repreſent. As the Lord hath made you glorious creatures, like Starres ſhining in your Orbes, ſo withall he hath appointed that by your prayers and endeavours, you ſhould be in continuall motion night and day to communicate light and influence to the lower world: The Lord hath raiſed you up above us, as the Sunne the Clouds, not to roule over our heads, by Lordly preheminence, but to refreſh the dry earth below, with fruitfull ſhowers: you have your *præeſſe, propter prodeſſe,* as the Schoolemen ſpeake.

God hath furniſhed you with abundance of *this worlds goods,* as he hath filled the mothers breaſts with milke, not for her owne ſake, (if ſhee keepes it up, it is her owne hurt) but to impart it to hungry babes that need it.

Unworthy great ones are like meteors, when they are raiſed up, though they carry a great luſter, yet are they ominous diſmall ſignes of approaching evills, they ſhine a while, and vaniſh in a ſtinke of ignominie. But great men ſhould bee like the higher ſpheares; as they guide the lower, and ſway them in their motions, ſo ſhould they imbrace and carry them in their boſomes: and by their prayers and beſt endeavours, ſeeke to procure the peoples good: that they may worthily carry the name of *patres patriæ,* the fathers, lovers, and protectors of their country: And ſo like *Deborah,* the hearts of the people *ſhall be towards the governours of Iſrael* (a); they will love, ſerve and honour you whiles you live: and after death, as your ſoules ſhall live in heaven, ſo your names on earth, and be *had in everlaſting remembrance.*

(a) Jud. 5. 9.

(b) Pſal. 112. 6

FINIS.



THE Neceſsity and Encouragement, OF UTMOST VENTURING FOR THE CHURCHES HELP:

TOGETHER WITH

The Sin, Folly, and Miſchief of *Self-Idolizing.*

Applyed by a Repreſentation of —

1. *Some of the moſt notorious Nationall ſins endangering us.*
2. *The heavy weight of wrath manifeſted in our preſent Calamities.*

Yet withall, grounds of —

3. *Confidence, that our Church ſhall obtain Deliverance in the Iſſue.*
4. *Hopes that the preſent Parliament ſhall be ſtill imployed in the working of it.*

All ſet forth in a Sermon,

Preached to the Honorable Houſe of *Commons*, on the day of the Monethly ſolemn Faſt, 21. June, 1643.

By HERBERT PALMER *B. D. and Miniſter of Gods Word at* Aſhwell *in* Hertfordſhire.

Publiſhed by Order of that Houſe.

MARK 8. 35. *Whoſoever will ſave his life, ſhall loſe it; and whoſoever will loſe his life for my ſake and the Goſpels, the ſame ſhall ſave it.*

JER. 18 7,8 *At what inſtant I ſhall ſpeak concerning a Nation, and concerning a Kingdom, to pluck up, and to pull down, and to deſtroy it: If that Nation againſt whom I have pronounced, turn from their evill, I will repent of the evill, that I thought to do unto them.*

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BIBLIOTECA
NACIONAL

TO THE HONORABLE the Houſe of *Commons*, now Aſſembled in PARLIAMENT.

THE *God of Heaven hath called you to a work of the greateſt* Honour, *and greateſt* Difficulty, *that lies upon any number of men, throughout the whole world at this day: To heal the wounds of* Zion, Obad. ver. laſt. *and be her inſtrumentall* Saviours; *the Repairers of the breach, and the Reſtorers of paths to dwell in;* Eſay 58. 12. *and to build up the old waſts, and lay the foundations, even of many generations; To ſave and reſcue two Kingdoms, (as you have helped to do a third already) from moſt deſperately-endangering ruin; and make way, in them, for that bleſſed Proclamation of the ſeventh Trumpet,* Now are the Kingdoms of this world, become the Kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Chriſt! Revel. 11. 15.

To ſtrengthen your hearts, and hands in this ſacred imployment, as this Sermon, by your call, firſt preſented it ſelf to your attentive ears, *ſo by a ſecond command of yours, it is now tendred to your* favourable eye; *and withall expoſed to the publike view of all, whether friends, or foes to the Peace and welfare of our Ieruſalem, or Neuters. In it I have laboured ſo to ſpeak to every ones conſcience, that did hear it, or ſhall read it, as to make them* 1. Senſible *of what they ſhould have done, and what they have done; and then* 2 Apprehenſive *of what God hath done, and means to do with the generall, and with them in particular, according to both his threatnings, and promiſes; and* 3. *by all,* Zealous *for God and his Church, and confident of his grace to his Church, and all her faithfull helpers.*

In the mean time, ſince it hath pleaſed him, who is the onely wiſe God, and the ruler of all things; All whoſe paths are mercy and truth, to ſuch as keep his Covenant, and his Teſtimonies; *to exerciſe your humility, fidelity, faith, and patience, by tidings unexpected from divers parts of the Kingdom*; *And you have ſo far apprehended his purpoſes in it, as to call us all, in and about the City, with your ſelves*, to a ſolemn and extraordinary publike Humiliation, *before the Monthly day comes about: I truſt, there is, and will for ever, be written upon your hearts, that holy care which I was bold to recommend unto you, to enquire* where the cauſe is, why God at any time expreſſes his diſpleaſure; *and that not onely in reference to the Nation generally, or any particular perſons in it, but even* to your own ſelves, *and that* as a Body; *that ſo you may thereby be both directed, and excited to fulfill the will of God, according to whatſoever you do, or ſhall finde amiſſe in any.*

* Whereof the chief are ſome enlargement, of our dangers in the firſt Uſes, and of the Uſe of examination, about our helping the Church, and the inſertion of the Catalogue of ſins againſt the ſeverall Commandments in the Uſe of Humiliation.

In all which, give me leave once more, to beſeech you, in the Name of God, and his Churches, to make us and your ſelves at once happy. *You are our Healers, and* while you ſubſiſt, *as we ſhall not be altogether* miſerable, *ſo neither without your* ſpeciall faithfulneſſe, and zeal, *can we attain to any* ſetled proſperity. *I ſhall not now inſtance in any other particulars, having touched upon divers in this diſcourſe, which you are now pleaſed to make one of your ſpirituall* Remembrancers. *In it, I have taken the freedom of others, to inſert a few things, which either ſtraits of time, or ſhortneſſe of memory, forced an omiſſion of in the delivery*. The God, whoſe truth it is, ſanctifie* You *and us all by it, as by all the reſt of his Word of truth*; So ſhall the Truth make us and you free *from all our dangers and fears, of all kindes, temporall, and ſpirituall, and finally, glorifie us all, in and with him, who is the eternall Truth, and eternall Life, the* Lord Jeſus Chriſt; *In whom I am ever*

Your moſt humble, and
Devoted Servant

HERBERT PALMER.

A SERMON PREACHED AT THE laſt Faſt, before the *Commons* Houſe of PARLIAMENT.

ESTHER 4. VER. 13, 14.

Then Mordecai commanded to anſwer Eſther, Think not with thy ſelf, that thou ſhalt eſcape in the Kings houſe, more then all the Jews. For if thou altogether holdeſt thy peace at this time, then ſhall there enlargement and deliverance ariſe to the Iews from another place, but thou and thy fathers houſe ſhall be deſtroyed. And who knows, whether thou be come to the Kingdom for ſuch a time as this? Text.

BEhold, *I ſet before you this day, a bleſſing and a curſe*, ſaith the holy Prophet *Moſes* unto all the Congregation of *Iſrael*, now upon the borders of the promiſed Land, *Deut.* 11.26. Ever ſince *Moſes* knew them, they had not been in ſo good a temper, as they were at this inſtant when he ſpake theſe words; and yet he holds it no *diſcourteſie* in him, nor *diſparagement* to them, to ſet home his Exhortations with theſe incentive quicknings, which he after purſues with a great deal of variety and emphaſis, in the latter end of that Book, Chap. 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, and 32. Preface.

We are fallen into times, wherein, if ever, Gods people need all manner of quicknings from Gods word, when as his providence is about to do ſome terrible thing, for, or againſt the

Church, or both. I would hope, we are upon the borders of that promiſed bleſſing, which we at leaſt have made to our ſelves many a time: And I do hope, we are not now in the worſt temper that ever we were. Though on the other ſide, it is altogether apparent, we are ſtill upon the borders of ruine, and of one of the wofulleſt curſes, that ever befell a Nation profeſſing Gods Name. Let it not then ſound harſh to any ear, ſpecially on ſo ſolemn a day of *Humiliation*, that a Text is preſented, which carries not a *bleſſing* onely, but alſo a *curſe* in the very Forehead of it. It is, that we may take our choiſe, as *Moſes* afterward amplifies the like ſpeech, chap. 30. 19. And for any thing I know, or any man elſe, as we that are here before God this day, do chuſe, *even this day*, we may fare our ſelves, and *all our Iſrael* with us, at leaſt, in the Good, the Bleſſing held forth.

But I Preface no longer.

Sum of the Text.

THe words contain ſummarily, [*The neceſſity, and encouragement of utmoſt venturing for the Churches help, in time of danger.*] The Jews, at this time, Gods onely viſible Church on earth, were now in one of the greateſt dangers that ever threatned a Nation. The ſtory is well known, I cannot ſpend time to decipher it. It is my great comfort, in that and the whole of my Diſcourſe, that I ſpeak to wiſe men; elſe the multitude of matters to be crowded together, within the allotted compaſſe of time for this holy Exerciſe, would ſuffer prejudice among us, by my neceſſary haſt; Therefore alſo I ſhall give you no other diviſion of the Text, then into the Points that thence offer themſelves to our preſent inſtruction. I will name them all together, and ſhew you the Riſe of the ſeveralls as we go along.

The firſt Doctrine is, [*Every one of Gods profeſſed people owe their endeavours, with the utmoſt hazard of themſelves, to help the Church in time of danger.*]

The ſecond this, [*Private ſelf-reſpects, prove great hinderances to moſt neceſſary duties.*]

The third, [*Thoſe whom private, and ſelf-reſpects hinder from the Churches help, can have no aſſurance, what ever ſeeming* advantages *they may hope upon, that they ſhall eſcape more then others.*]

The

The fourth is, [*Though thoſe who are moſt hopefull to be inſtruments of the Churches help, fail her in time of need, yet deliverance ſhall not fail her, ſome way or other, according to Gods promiſes.*]

The fifth is, [*Though the Church be delivered another way, yet a deſtruction is owing to them and theirs, that have neglected their utmoſt endeavour for her help.*]

The ſixth is, [*There is great hopes, that thoſe who are extraordinarily raiſed up, to a ſpeciall opportunity of ſerviceableneſſe to the Church, are intended by God to procure her help, if they will themſelves, and be faithfull.*]

All theſe Points will appear to be moſt naturally raiſed from the ſcope and words of the Text, and all of ſingular uſe for our edification, according to the preſent condition of things among us; As the ſequell will ſhew.

The firſt Doctrin is this; [*Every one of Gods profeſſed people, owe their endeavours, with the utmoſt hazard of themſelves, to help the Church in time of danger.*] 1. *Doctrin.*

Mordecai's former charge to *Eſther*, and this re-inforcement in the Text, ſuppoſes this Doctrin fully. It had been too *preſumptuous*, to put ſo great a Perſon, too *injurious*, to preſſe ſo dear a Friend, to ſo deſperate a piece of ſervice, if upon this generall ground, it had not been a certain, and indiſpenſable duty. It was hers, therefore all others reſpectively, all ours particularly. Nothing could diſcharge her, nothing can acquit us. Conſider, and compare; 1. Her Perſon and ours: 2. Her perill: 3. Her ſmall likelihood of prevailing: 4. And the certainty of the buſineſſe to be done without her. Grounded on the Example in the Text. Comparing her and our

1. Her Perſon: Which of us, even the higheſt, matches her greatneſſe? how extreamly below are the moſt? who hath ſo much to loſe, if we loſe all, as ſhe? Thoſe we venture for, are our equalls, or neer it ſome of them, and many are ſuperiours to the moſt. She was far above all her Nation, of whom the beſt were diſtreſſed tributaries, and multitudes little better then ſlaves. She ventured alone, none with her, none for her, wee have many engaged as well, as far as we; and we have cauſe to be glad of them, as well as they of us. If then it were her duty, to endeavour and venture, it is ours without all peradventure. 1. Perſon.

2. Peril'. 2. *What was the hazard ſhe muſt ruſh upon?* or what is the utmoſt venture? Death. This was hers. And what death more certain, or uſually more reproachfull, then for breaking through the known Law of an Imperious Monarch? This ſhe muſt expoſe her ſelf to. While yet this charge and threatning of her tells us, [*that it is no ſinne, but a duty of neceſſity, to prefer the regard of a peoples, of Gods peoples, ſafety, before any ſuch formality of a humane Law.*] Yet contrarily, had ſhe forborn this, her danger in humane appearance had been none at all, becauſe though ſhe were a *Jeweſſe*, yet not known to be ſuch. And now can our hazard by endeavor be worſe, (at the worſt) or more certain, or more reproachfull (though the reproach leſſe juſt) then hers? or to any of us, can there be leſſe hazard, if we forbear altogether any endeavour? If then ſhe muſt not forbear becauſe of *peril*, no more may we, without the *greateſt peril* of ſinne.

3. Improbability of ſucceſſe. 3. How unlikely was it ſhe ſhould prevail with one who in thirty dayes had not called for her, *though his wife?* and now preſſing upon him againſt his Law? and appearing in oppoſition to his ſo doted on Darling *Haman?* and of a *Decree*, already ſent forth into all his Dominions? which alſo by the Law of the *Medes* and *Perſians* ſeemed unalterable, and ſo the Caſe *remedileſſe* altogether this way? Is there any thing we are to Endeavour (let it be what it will) ſo unlikely to proſper, as this undertaking of hers? yet for this muſt ſhe pawn her life: And what may we then refuſe?

4 Needleſſe attempt. 4. Was it not pity, to drive her forward againſt ſuch a Canons-mouth; when though ſhe ſate ſtill, the Buſineſſe ſhould be done? (himſelf tells her ſo) in which ſhe might be loſt, and do nothing at all to it? What greater certainty can we have, or what equall, that what we are called to Endeavour and Venture for, will proſper if we do altogether nothing? How many would then indeed reſolve to do nothing, and think themſelves excuſable too? But ſo might not ſhe, nor ſo may not we, *without ſin can be excuſed*; For it appears, that according to the Doctrin, [*Every one of Gods profeſſed people, owes, &c.*

Confirmed by Scriptures and Examples. Let us confirm it by a few other Examples, and then by ſome Reaſons. 1 *Joh.* 3, 16, *We ought to lay down our lives for the Brethren,*

thren. Here is the Doctrin and Duty fully aſſerted. The Brethren, the Church, have a *right* to our *utmoſt* endeavour, with what *hazard* ſoever; *we owe* it to them, we *ought* to venture our lives, and when the pinch comes, *actually part with them.* And here is an example, beyond example, in the words foregoing, of God himſelf; Chriſt *God* and Man both, laid down His humane life for His Church. *Hereby perceive we the love of God towards us, in that he layd down his life for us.* This ought to be Reaſon ſufficient to us, to hold our ſelves obliged to the ſame *hazard* in our meaſure; in *thankefulneſſe* to Him, and *imitation* of Him, and to *teſtifie the truth of our love*, which we profeſſe to bear to the Church, as the Apoſtle was now exhorting to love. Love denies nothing of *endeavours*, ventures all things of *hazard*, for the Object loved. So ought we to do, becauſe we ought to love the Church, and profeſſe we do love it. So Saint *Paul, Col.* 1 24. *I now rejoyce in my ſufferings for* you, *and fill up that which is behinde of the ſufferings of Chriſt in my fleſh, for his bodies ſake, which is the Church.* Here is another great Example, not onely of this Duty *acknowledged*, but *practiſed*, and that with *joy*; and as a *debt* to Chriſt and his Church: A ſtrong Reaſon alſo inſinuated; All Chriſts Members muſt ſuffer after His example, even for the Churches good; not *meritoriouſly*, or *ſatisfactorily*, (which was onely proper to him the Head) but by way of *conformity* to Him, and *teſtimony* to them, to *ſeal* hereby, the truth of the Doctrin of Chriſtianity, of faith and holineſſe, and proclaim it worth ſuffering for, and to propagate it, while any opportunity is afforded, in deſpight of ſufferings. *Moſes* alſo of old, ventures and forfeits all his greatneſſe in the Court of *Ægypt*, being the reputed and adopted ſon of *Pharaohs* daughter, for his brethrens ſake, the children of *Iſrael* under oppreſſion, even for the reſcue of one of them tyrannically abuſed, *Exod.* 2. And ſo *Aaron, Numb.* 16. Even though his people but the day before, were in *rebellion* againſt him, and would have thruſt him out of his *Office*, and at the preſent had again renewed their *mutiny* againſt him and *Moſes*, crying out, *Ye have killed the people of the Lord*, when it was Gods own immediate vengeance that ſtruck them, and for this *murmuring* he now ſtrikes them ſo heavily, as 14700. of them died

Paul. See alſo, Phil. 2. 17. & 2 Tim. 2. 10.

Moſes. See alſo, Heb. 11.

Aaron.

of the plague in a quarter of an houre or leſſe. Into the middeſt of which multitude with extreame danger, *Aaron* to ſave them *ventures* himſelfe, and runnes in with his cenſer and incenſe, between the *living* and the *dead*, to make an *atonement* for them. Here was an admirable charity indeed, typifying *Chriſts*, our great high Prieſts, both dying and praying for his very *enemies* and crucifyers. And *David*, when his people were in danger of the deſtroying Angel, offers himſelfe to his ſword, his owne life to the Peſtilence, that they might be ſpared, 2 *Sam.* 24. 17. Finally even *Joab*, though a man of bloud, and when his turne came to die, unwilling enough, (1 *Kings* 2.) yet can encourage himſelfe and his brother too, to venture themſelves to the utmoſt, *for their people, the cities of their God*, even though not certain of the ſucceſſe, which he therefore wholly referres to God, *Let the Lord doe that which ſeemes him good*, 2 *Sam.* 10. 11, 12. And great reaſon for all this, whether we conſider God or the Church, our ſelves or the enemies or friends of the Church, or By-ſtanders.

David.

Joab.

By Reaſons.

Reaſon 1. We owe our ſelves wholly to God.

1. *All Gods profeſſed People Owe themſelves Certainly to Him, to Doe all things, Venture, Loſe, Suffer all things at His Bidding, and for His Sake. If then He Appoint to Doe any of this, or all this, for the Churches ſake, we Owe it as a Duty Unqueſtionably.* What ſay You to this? Brethren, what think you of St. *Pauls* ſaying, *You are not your owne?* 1 Cor. 6. 19. What have you, which is not His, by *Creation*, by *Preſervation*, *ſpeciall Providence and gift*? And may He not call for all that is His, at any time, or any way? Are not you His, by *Redemption* too? *You are bought with a price, therefore glorify God in your body and in your ſpirits which are Gods*, 1 Cor. 6. 20. *Satan* had you once his ſlaves; and you did his worke, fulfilled his luſts, with body and ſoule and all that you had; and all that was *Diſhonour* to God exceedingly. Now God hath bought you with a price, ſuch a price as the precious bloud of His own Son; can you chuſe but *owe your ſelves wholly to Him*, at His pleaſure? Once more, are you not His altogether, by covenant? A right He hath in you even that way, as much as it is poſſibly for you to pretend, or imagine your ſelves ever to have been your own. What is the covenant of *Chriſtianity* plainly, but *for Him to be our God, and we His people*? Jer. 31. 33.

31.33. and every where, and *Heb.* 8. 10. *to deny our ſelves, take up our croſſe daily, and follow Him,* Luke 9. 23. *to ſell all,* Mat. 13.44,45,46. *forſake all, hate all,* Luke 14.26.33. or elſe we are told by the Truth it ſelfe, we are no Chriſtians; *we cannot be his Diſciples?* Now doth not all this amount to all *endeavour,* and the *Venture* of the *utmoſt hazard?* What can any one except againſt this, or except out of this? Thou haſt an *eſtate;* who gave it thee, but God? (*Riches and honour are of thee, &c.* 1 Chron. 29. 12.) or rather lent it thee, made thee ſteward of it? He appoints thee to lay out ſo much for ſuch an uſe, gives the Church *a Letter of Attorney:* Is it not thy due to yeeld it upon demand? Thou haſt *honour and dignity;* who promoted thee? *Pſal.* 75. 7. *God is the Judge, He puts down one, and ſets up another.* If He will have thee lay it down and give over thy office, maiſt thou ſay, I am not bound to yeeld to it? Thou haſt *friends;* who made them friends, and able to ſhew themſelves friendly, but God who rules all hearts? If He will thee to ſleight their friendſhip in this or that caſe canſt thou ſay, thou oweſt Him no ſuch reſpect? Thou art a *Freeman,* in bondage to none; who made thee free ſpiritually, but Chriſt? made thee be borne a freeman temporally, (not a ſlave, as in ſome countries) but God? if he call thee to venture lying in a dungeon, as a priſoner; a captive; or come into bonds and debts to doe Him neceſſary ſervice; wilt thou ſay thou oweſt Him no ſuch ſervice? In a word, thy lims, ſenſe, life, whence hadſt thou them, or haſt them firſt and laſt? may He not then command them all? Oweſt thou not all of them to Him? and ſo thy ſelfe in all reſpects to Him? and accordingly to His Church, at His will? Remember this as the firſt main Reaſon, upon which all the reſt depend. They are divers, but of each of them more briefly.

For 2ly. *God hath made the Church his receiver of all his rents, and dues, ſo far as her need requires.* Plainly, God every where expreſſes, that He counts *that done or not done to Him, which is done or not done to His Church.* Chriſt, we know, expreſſes this as the ſtile of His ſentences at the great day of Judgement, (even referring to particular members, helped, or neglected) *You did it to me, You did it not to me, Mat.* 25. Where note alſo, the very *Reprobates,* and now doomed to damnation, dare not deny but they owed all

Reaſon 2. The Church is Gods Receiver, as much as ſhe needs.

all reſpect to *Chriſt*; and ſpeak as though they would not have neglected it, if they had lookt at it as reaching to Him, ſo that He would have taken it to heart. But they might have known (we may) from ſo many expreſſions in His word; that in reference to the Churches neceſſities, *Chriſt and the Church are one*; and have but *one name*, *Jer.* 23. 6. with 33. 16. and 1 *Cor.* 12. 12. If we could ſee no Reaſon for this, yet ſince he ſo often ſaith it, we muſt not choppe logicke with Him, and offer to deny it, but if we would, all logick and reaſon would confute us; for,

Reaſon 3. The Church is Gods glory on earth.

3. *God is ſpecially glorified upon earth, or diſhonoured according as His Church fares.* Iſrael is *His glory*, *Eſa.* 46. *ult.* (The Church *Chriſts* ſpouſe and His kingdome) He is *glorified* in their welfare, when their number encreaſes, their ſins are purged, they freed from judgements and enemies, and their proſperity advanced. Therefore to endeavour this with our whole ſtrength, and utmoſt hazard, is our duty, *as well as to love Him with our whole hearts, and ſoules, and minds, and ſtrength*, and to doe all things to *His glory*. And we cannot faile in any thing, but we faile ſo much *in our love* to Him; and *diſhonour* Him ſo much; therefore,

Reaſon 4. We pray for it in the Lords prayer.

4. *We pray for this, for the Churches good*, when we underſtandingly pray as Chriſt hath taught us, *Hallowed be thy Name, Thy kingdome come, Thy will be done in earth, as it is in Heaven.* And we mock God if we ſo pray, and endeavour it not, with all *cheerfull* readineſſe, *univerſall practice*, and *conſtant continuance*, like the Angels in Heaven, though we cannot reach their *perfection*; nor are they put upon *hazards*, becauſe they have no ſin, and ſo no ſuffering to undergoe, but

Reaſon 5. Angels give us example.

5. The very example of the Angels endeavours affords a diſtinct argument of our obligation. They are ſent forth to miniſter for their ſakes that ſhall be the heirs of ſalvation, *Heb.* 1. 14. It is not too mean an office then for the greateſt on earth, to endeavour the Churches helpe. For,

Reaſon 6. All things and perſons are for the Churches ſake.

6. *All things, and perſons are ordained for the Churches ſake.* The very world continues, that every one that *in Gods Decree* belongs to the Church, ſhould be converted, and be brought to repentance. 2 *Pet.* 3. 9. All gifts are beſtowed for the Churches ſake. *The manifeſtation of the Spirit is given to every man, to profit withall,*

withall, 1 *Cor.*12.7. all for the Churches profit, and ſo 1 Cor.3. 21,22. *All things are yours, whether Paul, or Apollos, or Cephas, or the world, or life or death, or things preſent or things to come, all are yours.* All, not only things, but perſons, Apoſtles, and Miniſters, Kings, and Parliaments, and all, are every one of them intended for the Church; *God called this Parliament for his Churches ſake; and for his Churches ſake it is that he hath ſo eſtabliſht and continued it.* And the Prophet tells how that it was *for Jacob his ſervants ſake and Iſrael his elect*, that God raiſed up *Cyrus* and gave him victories, *holding his right hand, and ſubduing Nations before him, and looſing the loynes of Kings, opening the two leaved gates, &c. Eſay* 45. *ver.* 1.4. And elſewhere *that Kings ſhould be nurſing Fathers to his Church, and Queenes nurſes, and that they ſhould carry the Churches children in their armes, and upon their ſhoulders, and give them ſuck*, do even the meaneſt offices of help to them, with all diligence and paines-taking and breaking their ſleep (as Nurſes uſe for their nurſlings) for their good. And all this *Cyrus* hath taught us, to be not onely *prophecies* of what ſhall be, but *precepts* of what ought to be: For underſtanding of the prediction, *Eſay* 44.28. that he ſhould build the Temple, he takes it to be a command given to him; as he proclaimes to all the world, 2 *Chron.*36. *Ezra* 1. Thus all *humane authority* on earth is for the Churches good. And which is farre higher and a moſt exceedingly admirable expreſſion, the *very Authority of Chriſt in Heaven*, (though ultimately for his own glory, the glory of God, yet) is alſo intended for the Churches good. So remarkeably and fully ſpeakes the Apoſtle, *Epheſ.*1.22. *God gave him to be the Head over all things to the Church.* How much more are earthly men ſo meant? It is injurious therefore without queſtion not to God onely, but to the Church in point of right, for any man on earth to withhold any thing from her, whereby ſhe may be helped or benefited. For alſo——

*Doct.*1.

Even Kings,

Eſay 49.21,22. & 60.16.

And even the very Authority of Chriſt in Heaven.

7. *The comforts (as well as Talents) that we have received, we may inſtrumentally thank the Church for them, as our Mother that bare us*; and her children as our brethren and ſiſters, that helped to bring us up, both naturally and ſpiritually; and doe ſtill (while we live) more for us then we can poſſibly requite, with our utmoſt endeavour and venturing our ſelves for them.

Reaſon 7. Our comforts are from the Church.

Doct. 1. *Thankfulneſſe* then ties us, beſides all former Obligations. The rather becauſe——

Reaſon. 8. Our ſins have endangered her. 8. *Every one by their ſins have ſundry wayes endangered the Church*, and do almoſt continually; provoking God, and ſometimes men againſt her; diſheartning the Friends, and ſtrengthning the Enemies, by evill Words, and Examples. We owe then by way of *ſatisfaction* to her, and *repentance* toward God, to do henceforward our utmoſt to help, and reſcue, and ſtrengthen her every way. This was *Davids* reaſon, in the forementioned 2 *Sam.* 24. and *Pauls* provocation to his duty, doubtleſſe, many a time. This is the more ſtrong, becauſe ſtill——

Reaſon. 9. Enemies do their utmoſt. 9. *The Church hath many Enemies, who do, and will do their worſt againſt her*, and are ſpecially encouraged, and advantaged by our neglect. They get ground as much as we withdraw, and give back; And our valour makes them at leaſt at a ſtand, and is ſome diſcouragement to them. Alſo——

Reaſon. 10. Friends fail, or are ſtrengthened by what we do. 10. *When any of Gods people ſhrinks, he endangers to break the Ranks*, and diſorder others, and make them run away from their Colours, as well as himſelf; or at leaſt ſads their hearts, weakens their hands, and makes bare their ſides, and contrarily, each ones vigour and valour adds ſtrength to his companions every way. We owe it to them then, and to the profeſſion we have made to ſtand to them, and live and die with them. And there are great examples both wayes of this.

Reaſon. 11. So By ſtanders in their degree. 11. Finally, *By-ſtanders, and Neuters, are much led like ſheep by the eye, and though fearfull, yet are ſometimes engaged by our courage. But to be ſure, they learn fearfulneſſe of us*; And if thoſe ſee *us* backward any way, whoſe intereſts ſeem to be more in the Cauſe then *theirs*, they will eaſily think themſelves excuſed; And then their ſins will prove ours. This I ſpeak, to thoſe that in a more peculiar manner profeſſe themſelves Gods people; though others alſo are profeſſed Chriſtians at large; there ſhould be no ſuch difference, if all would come up to their duties: But ſince all will not, at leaſt not readily, we that are outwardly forwardeſt *any way*, muſt be ſo *every way*, elſe I ſay, we diſcharge not our debt, and duty, and give ill example to thoſe that are too too backward of themſelves. So I have done with the proof of the firſt Point, which is the main foundation

tion of all, and therefore not to be lightly paſſed over, but put beyond all gain-ſaying. I come now to the Uſe of it. *Doct.* 1.

The Uſe that I ſhall make of this firſt Doctrin by it ſelf, is onely to provoke us all, to a ſerious conſideration, of our Church and Nations dangers, calling for our utmoſt help; as alſo what help is poſſible and neceſſary for us to afford; (taking in *Ireland* alſo into our thoughts, though I cannot at every turn name it, but it muſt never be forgotten, ſpecially on theſe ſolemn dayes of ſeeking God; their unhappineſſe affording us the firſt advantage of enjoying this publike happineſſe of theſe dayes of humiliation, towards our own good as well as theirs,) Where we owe help, we muſt needs conſider the need of help, and the means of it. *Uſe.* Conſide ation I. Of Churches dangers needing help.

The Churches dangers needing help, are reducible to two heads, *Judgments*, and *Sins*. Both together put us into the condition of *Iſrael*, *Nehem.* 9. 37. whoſe ſad expreſſion is, *We are in great diſtreſſe*. Indeed far greater then theirs was then, as a compariſon would fully clear, but that I have no leaſure for it; neither ſhall I now ſay all that I intend on either Head, becauſe the following Points require a reſervation of ſomewhat of each kind, to re-inforce them: But yet even to make further way for them, and in the mean time for a brief diſcourſe of the means of help, ſomewhat alſo muſt here be premiſed of the Churches dangers, both in regard of judgements, and ſins.

For our dangers, in regard of *Judgments*, I may thus recapitulate them. Firſt, *An attempt*, upon a deep-rooted, long-projected deſigne, to ruin Religion, *Gods* true Religion, our Laws, and Liberties; and in, and for all this, this preſent Parliament. 1. *Judgments.* 1. Attempt againſt all this.

2. *An Army raiſed* for this by *Papiſts-counſels*, enemies to the true Religion, and conſequently to our State, and Laws, by which it is eſtabliſhed; Made up for the moſt part of men of *deſperate ſpirits*, enemies to Parliaments, and Laws, becauſe themſelves are Delinquents, and reſolve to be Libertines; and *men of deſperate fortunes*, and therefore enemies to the propriety and true liberty of the Subject, without the violation of which they cannot ſubſiſt in their broken condition. 2 Army raiſed againſt.

3. *Theſe enemies poſſeſſing the Perſon of our King, abuſing his* 3 Enemies poſſeſſe our King.

Doct. 1. *Vſe.* Conſider the Churches danger.

minde, by their wicked ſuggeſtions, and counſels; *his Name*, to countenance all their lawleſſe outrages, and to caſt all manner of reproaches upon the Parliament, and particularly, upon prime Members of both Houſes.

4. They have prevailed far.

4. *Theſe enemies having prevailed* in many places, to rob and ſpoil houſes, villages, towns, countreys; to carry away Priſoners, and uſe them with more then barbarous cruelty; to kill and deſtroy, many in the field in *open war*, ſome in *cold blood*, (if their boyling rage and malice can ever be ſaid to be cold blood) and not a few, by worſe then brutiſh uſage in their Priſons; to violence, and violate mens conſciences, by forcing upon them the Proteſtation againſt the Parliament.

5. Their ſtrength enough to endanger all.

5. *Theſe enemies being in themſelves, many in number, and of great ſtrength*; in divers places apparently ſtronger then we, in all kinde of ſtrength, (except ſpirituall) and in the whole, powerfull enough *to put all into exceeding hazard*, by force and fraud, arms and conſpiracies, (witneſſe *Briſtoll*, and the late damnable Plot againſt the Parliament and City) ſpecially conſidering the multitude of *ſecret enemies*, ſeeming but Neuters, intermingled every where with us, ſpecially in all conſiderable places; (the City is not, the Parliament it ſelf hath not been free) and not a few, even almoſt *profeſſed enemies*, let alone and ſuffered, in the very City, and much more in the Countreys; and too many *falſe and treacherous friends* in the Armies, and every where. Beſides multitudes of *profeſſed Neuters*, ready to fall to the enemies, where ever they ſhall appear ſtronger, and in the mean time, affording as little help, as poſſible they can, the rather becauſe the worſt of the Parliaments *exclaimed againſt ſeverity*, is *courteſie* to the ordinary uſage of their adverſaries againſt any that have in the leaſt oppoſed them.

6. Churches friends weak and few.

6. *Our friends impoveriſht* daily, without means of reſtauration, *diſheartened* by mutuall jealouſies *divided* by differences in opinion, *diminiſhed* by deaths, and captivities, without hopes of ranſom, and few grow up in their rooms.

7 Forrain States help not, but hurt thence.

7. *Forrain States and Countreyes, at the beſt no friends*, while in the mean time, Papiſts in ſeverall parts, afford great aſſiſtance to our enemies, by contributions of Moneys, and Arms: And ſo have ſome of our pretended Friends done too, whoſe conſciences

ſciences will one day pay them to the full for it, on earth, or a worſe place, (or both) as fighters againſt God and his true Religion; and ſelf-condemned in their own hearts, for worſe rebells (if we be thought by them to be ſo at all) then any rhetorick can make us. *Deſt. 1. Uſe.* Conſider the Churches danger by *ſins* Nationall.

8. *Ireland*, not onely affords us no help, but helps to waſt our Eſtates, our Proviſions, Arms, Ammunition, while the Rebels there are in part furniſht from forrain States, and now at laſt, threatning us alſo with an actuall Invaſion; and at leaſt ſome of thoſe Rebels being actually in Arms againſt us. 8. *Ireland* waſts, and endangers.

Lay now all theſe together, and we muſt needs acknowledge, that our danger is exceeding great, and we all *in great diſtreſſe*, in regard of the Judgments that lie upon, and threaten our Church and Nation, and *Ireland* with us.

And now it is time, that we come to conſider our Nations ſins a little, as the provoking Cauſe of all theſe Judgments: For ſo the Prophet reſolves the Queſtion, why the ſword was ſent againſt *Judah*, *Jer.* 4. 18. *Thy wayes, and thy doings have procured theſe things to thee: This is thy wickedneſſe, becauſe it is bitter, and becauſe it reaches unto thy heart.* To ſhew this, we will ſcan firſt, how many wayes a Nation may be called *ſinfull*, according to the phraſe, *Eſay* 1. 4. and *a people laden with iniquity*: And then ſee, whether in all thoſe reſpects, our Land be not undeniably *ſinfull*, and *laden with tranſgreſſions*. 2. Churches danger by *ſins* of Nation. A Nation ſinfull 5. ways.

Five wayes a Nation may deſerve the name of ſinfull. Firſt, when *all ſorts and ranks*, that is, many in each of them, *are apparently tainted* with ſinne. 1. All ranks tainted much.

2. *When particular ſins*, as ignorance, drunkenneſſe, ſwearing, prophaneneſſe, (any one ſuch notorious ſin, and much more, if divers) *doe viſibly taint the greateſt number* in a Nation, every where; according to the expreſſion, *Ezek.* 22. *Thou haſt done thus and thus.* 2. The moſt tainted with any one kinde of ſin.

3. *When any viſible iniquity*, though practiſed but by ſome few, *is not at all puniſht, though there be law againſt it.* This comes under another phraſe in the forementioned chapter, *Ezek.* 22. *In thee; in thee have they ſet light by Father and Mother; in the middeſt of thee, have they done thus and thus:* We know the very not enquiring after *Achan*, (there having been a particular warning, 3. A few notorious ſins altogether unpuniſht, though laws againſt them-

Deut. 1. *Ve.*

Consider the Church s danger by sins Nationall.

ning, that one such man would make all *Israel* accursed) made God charge his single fact upon all the Nation, *Israel have sinned, and they have trangressed*, &c. *Ios* 7. And accordingly he threatens *not to be with the Nation any more*, except they found him out, and punisht him accordingly.

4 Laws silent, or too weak to restrain sin.

4. *When the Lawes are too weak and slack, or altogether silent in the restraint of wickednesse.* This could not indeed be in the Jewish common-wealth, because they had lawes of Gods own making, to punish all manner of transgressions, that God would have to be punisht: But since other Common-wealths have taken to themselves (I am afraid farther then God allowes) a Liberty to count themselves free from his penal laws, it is manifestly possible, that they may be wanting in necessary laws, to suppresse ungodlinesse; & then they make the Nation guilty of such sins, as for want of good laws are practised; In that *the Authority* that God hath given in a Nation to make laws for the observation of His divine Lawes, is not put in *execution* sufficiently. Authority, I say, sins in not making such necessary lawes, and inferiours sin in not following them with petitions and importunities for the making of them. And so all are sinfull, *the Nation is sinfull.*

5. Sin countenanced, or allowed by law.

5. *Much more when any sin hath any kinde of countenance, and allowance from Authority, and specially from lawes:* and that offenders against Gods *commandements*, can plead mans *approbation*, if not *command* in some sort, of their practises. This is the *highest* and worst degree of all, not onely because it doth immediately taint the generality in point of practice; but layes a *cursed* foundation of *vilifying* all Gods lawes in any thing when it appears to inferiours, that superiours (though men like themselves) dare take upon them so to crosse Gods Authority with theirs.

Our Nation shewed sinfull by acknowledgments of all.

And now if in all these respects, our Nation is greatly guilty of transgression and sinne against our God and Heavenly King, we are beyond all peradventure a *sinfull Nation*, and a people *laden with iniquity*; and for this, for the present I onely appeale to every ones *conscience*, that seemes to have any sense of conscience, and to the *generall complaint* that there is every where, of something or other in all these kindes. Even they oft times, that notoriously help to fill up the measure of a Nations wickednesse, doe yet themselves complain aloud of the *universalty of corruption*,

corruption, and ſin of all ſorts, and in all ſorts. Let me then take them, and all others, at their own words in this, and *judge them out of their own mouths* (God will be ſure to doe ſo one day,) that they have acknowledged our Land and Church to be not only a greatly *endangered*, but a *deeply guilty* people; and ſo in both reſpects needing abundance of help, even the utmoſt that can poſſibly be afforded, by any, by all of us. And that is the other conſideration, belonging to this Uſe, what help is *proper* and *poſſible* to be afforded to the Church in this her *need*?

Doct. 1. Uſe.

II. Conſider what help may, ſhould be afforded the Church.

1. Againſt the *outward* danger, *outward* help is needed for our Nation, and Church, and *Ireland* alſo; Counſels, purſes, perſons, whatſoever is ours, or can be juſtly procured by us, is *owing*, (as the doctrine hath ſhewed us) becauſe it may be *helpfull*, and may be *needed* one time or other, for the Churches help.

1. Outward.

2. Againſt the *whole of the danger*, *Prayer* may be *helpfull*, and is altogether *needfull*, conſtant, humble, penitent, faithfull, fervent prayer. I need not inſiſt on this, you have heard it already this day abundantly, and powerfully. But of *Humiliation* not only as a *companion* of Prayer, but alſo as a *Parent* or Nurſe of it, and ſo as a *diſtinct* means of help for the Church, I muſt a little particularly ſpeak; ſpecially this being *a ſolemne day of Humiliation*, wherein both God and man require of us, to urge this, which I ſhall doe by ſhewing; firſt, what is the *nature of it*; and then ſecondly, the object of it, to what it extends, both as a *duty*, and as a *meanes*. For the nature of it; Humiliation *is a lying low, and being abaſed at Gods feet for mercy, making firſt, a hearty confeſſion and acknowledgement to God of 4. things.* 1. *Of naturall extreame ſinfulneſſe and corruption, and particular ſins, as many as are knowne, or by enquiry can be found out, with their aggravations.* 2. *Of extremity of puniſhment thereby deſerved.* 3. *Of impoſſibility of eſcaping ſuch puniſhment without Gods favour.* 4. *Of impoſſibility of obtaining Gods favour, without repentance and faith in Chriſt our ſurety.* 2. *From all this making alſo an entire ſubmiſſion and yeelding to any temporall correction, which God layes or continues, without murmuring, or offering to free our ſelves by ſinning againe in any kinde.* All this is included within the nature of true humiliation. Which as it is often called for in Scripture as a duty, *giving glory to God*, in all his providence, and particularly in his Judge-

2. Spirituall. 1 Prayer.

2. Humiliatiõ.

What it is,

Why required.

Doct. 1. *Vſe.* Conſider how to help the Church by humiliation.

Judgements mixed with mercies, according to his *Word*, and all his *ſoveraigne dignities* and titles of Creatour, Preſerver, Ruler, and King of all men and Creatures; and all his *glorious attributes* of Juſt, Holy, Wiſe, Gracious, Powerfull, True. So is it alſo frequently both in generall and in the particular parts of it, made and appointed a neceſſary meanes of helping a Nation; one place ſhall now ſuffice for many, *Lev.* 26. 40, 41. *If they ſhall confeſſe their iniquities, and the iniquity of their Fathers, with their treſpaſſe whereby they have treſpaſſed againſt me, and that alſo they have walked contrary unto me, and that I alſo have walked contrary to them, and have brought them into the land of their enemies; if then their uncircumciſed hearts be humbled, and they then accept of the puniſhment of their iniquity; Then will I remember, &c.* And all this the rather, becauſe ſuch a *Humiliation* is both moſt *neceſſary* and moſt *effectuall*, to make us endeavour what ever elſe is conducible toward the Churches help, as ſpecially a holy Example, and activity for Reformation; of which afterwards.

2. How far it extends, namely to 1. Sins of Nation.

Now for the object of Humiliation, It concernes (and would though we our ſelves were both altogether innocent, and free from all perſonall danger;) 1. *The ſins of the Nation*, (we live amongſt) endangered alſo by his judgements felt, or feared. But much more, when our own being ſenſibly in danger, as well as others, calls us to remember our own ſins, and be humbled for them, ſpecially being ſome way guilty alſo even of the Nations ſins, as we ſhall ſee anon.

2. Sins of Forefathers for 5 Reaſons.

2. This Humiliation for the ſins of our Nation, muſt extend *to the ſins of our Forefathers*; this we finde commanded, (by way of condition to a promiſe) *Lev.* 26. 40. and every where practiſed in ſolemn Humiliations, referring to a Nations good, as *Ezr.* 9. *Nehemiah* 1. & 9. *Daniel* 9. *Ierem.* 3. And the reaſons of this are cleare.

1. Tenants children lyable to pay Parents debts and forfeitures.

1. In that we as their *heires*, are juſtly lyable to puniſhments (temporall) for their ſins in former times. Mens Juſtice requires debts of Heires, namely the Landlords rents; and for waſtes committed againſt their leaſes; God may much more. This broke good *Ioſiahs* heart, melted it into teares, when by the reading of the book of the Law, he found what arrerages he and his land were in, for the forfeitures of their Forefathers; though

Though he had begun to put himself and them into a better posture of service, and duty, toward God their great Landlord: So should we also be affected, even with the sins of our Ancestours. *Doct.* 1. *Application.* Consider how to help the Church by humiliations for sins [of forefathers.

2. Specially if in any thing we finde, that any worldly commodity we enjoy, is the fruit of their sin: Whereas *Humane Politicks excuse, or justifie, or commend those sins*, that redound in appearance to worldly security, or advantage; as the letting evill men, or evill practises alone, which might have been redrest, and suppresst, if not at one time, yet at another, had there been a true, and through *zeal* for God, and *faith* in God. *Divine wisdome commands humiliation for* (and reformation of, if yet to be done) *as endangering evils:* Therefore holy *Hezekiah*, who trusted in the Lord with all his heart, after his humble acknowledgments of manifold transgressions, ventures to pul down all the high-places, even superstitious, as well as idolatrous, which all former Reformers, even *Asa*, and *Jehoshaphat* in their times medled not with. And holy *David*, though perhaps he had not power enough, to punish the treacherous murthers of the great Generall *Joab*, yet cannot die in peace, till he hath left a charge upon his son *Solomon*, to pay that debt for him, 1 *Kings* 2. which therefore he carefully fulfilled without delay. 2. Enjoying fruit by their sinne. 2 Kings 18.

3. Yet more, It is required that we be humbled for our forefathers sins, lest, as we are too apt, we either *approve of the evill of them*, (which else we could not but in our consciences condemn) *even because it was their practise to do thus, and they went no further in reforming*; and this we usually think excuse enough. 3. Lest we approve, or excuse sins, because theirs.

Or 4. *Lest we should make it an argument also, that God is well pleased with such, and such things*, because our forefathers did so, and were not severely plagued, but rather flourished in those wayes: Which also is a common pretence, for the continuance of evill practises. 4 Or think it, because they were not punisht for it.

Or 5. Last of all, *Lest even after we had forsaken their sins, we should again by temptation, be drawn to return to them:* Against all which, there is no better *antidote* (under the grace of Christ) then a *sad*, and serious, and *oft repeated*, and renewed *humiliation*, even for our *forefathers* sins, as well as those of the *pre-* 5. Or return to them again, after a leaving them.

Application. *ſent generation*, in our nation and people.

Uſe 1. 3. But to all this, we muſt be ſure to adde, (or rather to premiſe it firſt in our hearts, though my method leads me to name it laſt) *the humiliation for our own perſonall ſins*; As many as we do, or can by ſtrict enquiry know, by our ſelves. And this generally, for the reaſons noted at the firſt; Gods honour, our own reformation, and our eſcaping wrath, through Gods mercy in Chriſt.

3. Our own.

Though reforming, or reformed. N. B.

And this we muſt do, even after we have reſolved, or begun to reform, and alſo after we have reformed, how perfectly ſoever, and even have our pardon ſealed never ſo ſure. *That thou mayeſt remember, and be confounded, and never open thy mouth any more, when I am pacified towards thee, for all that thou haſt done, ſaith the Lord God* Ezek. 16. 63. And to the like purpoſe, *Ezek.* 36. 31, 32. Becauſe alſo, while we are but *reſolving*, or beginning to *reform our ſelves*, we may ſuddenly *revolt*, even to worſe then before, if a *through Humiliation*, ſhame, ſorrow, and fear, *keep us not*. And after we have reformed moſt *compleatly*, ſtill ſome taints remain in our own hearts, (*and much more many times, in others tainted by us*) which need this *mortification*. *Pharaohs* often *revolts*, and even *Iſraels* too, all *Moſes* time, are ſad confirmations of this. We read them often *relenting*, but never *ſolemnly* making it their *buſineſſe*, to humble themſelves for their tranſgreſſions.

3. A holy example.

3. Moreover, againſt the ſpirituall danger of ſin, a holy example, an exact unblameable converſation may be greatly helpfull, and is infallibly needfull. St. *Peter* ſuppoſes, even ungodly men may thereby be conſtrained to glorifie God, 1 *Pet.* 2, and prophane Paganiſh husbands converted, even without the Word, by the converſation of the wives, 1 *Pet.* 3. 1, 2. It ſhews ungodly men, that godlineſſe is a poſſible thing to be practiſed as well as worded. And where it is wanting, no word can do ſo much good, as that want doth harm; as I ſhall again touch anon.

4. An active endeavour of reformation.

4. Finally, againſt *ſin* and *judgment* both, an active endeavour of reformation is ſpecially helpfull, and beyond controverſie needfull. 1. Againſt *judgment*, as appears by the promiſe of *pardoning* that is, ſparing for the preſent, *Jerem.* 5. 1.

If

If but a man were found, that did execute judgment, and ſeek the truth. And by the aſſigning this the cauſe of *Gods indignation powred out upon them*, Ezek. 22. 30, 31. *becauſe God ſought for a man that ſhould ſtand in the gap, and make up the hedge before him for the land, but found none*: that is, never a man of note, active for reformation: For elſe there were godly men, that mourned and prayed, *Ezek.* 9. but none ſtood up ſtrongly for God; that would have helped much. 2. Againſt *ſin*, by uſing all the authority any hath; As a Governour of a family, Parent, Maſter, Miniſter, or Magiſtrate to bring ſinners to repentance, and keep others from ſinning. This no man will, no man can in generall deny to be a helpfull, and neceſſary duty: therefore I add no more of it for the preſent, but ſhall meet with it again in ſome following Uſes of other Points. Doct. 2.

I now come to the ſecond Doctrin, which is this: [*Private ſelf-reſpects, prove great hinderances to moſt neceſſary duties.*] It had like to have done ſo here with *Eſther*; it did ſo at the firſt bout, till *Mordecai's* divine arguments, of *faith*, and *deſpair*, dreadfull frights, and glorious hopes, quickned her to the heroick reſolution, expreſſed in the following verſe. *I will go in to the King, which is not according to the Law, and if I periſh, I periſh.* Thus ſhe overcame at laſt, and was no longer hindered from her duty: But too many are every where, as ſad experience proclaims to all ears. Grounded on the Text.

This turned *Peter* for a fit, from a *Champion of Chriſt in the garden*, to a *Renegado* in the Palace. It was not indeed a *neceſſary* duty indeed to follow *Chriſt* thither, at that time: Nor perhaps, to make anſwer at all to the queſtions then put to him, if ſilence would have ſatisfied. But it was *abſolutely neceſſary* for a Diſciple of Chriſt, *not to deny his Maſter any where*, much more, not to forſwear him, with curſing and banning, that he knew no ſuch man, but contrarily to profeſſe himſelf his, if he could not without ſuch horrid lying conceale it; yet this private ſelf-reſpect put him upon, not onely to neglect his duty, but to do quite contrary. He conceited that the *owning of his Maſter*, would at this time endanger *his own perſonall ſafety*, and if he denied him, he might eſcape unknown, and untoucht out of the high Prieſts Palace, what ever became of his Maſter. And Exemplified by *Peter*.

Doct. 2. Self-reſpects hinder moſt neceſſary duties.

now, though every one curſes not, or ſwears like him, yet have not too many of us our fits, when we come into malignant companies, too like this?

The Jews neglecting the Temples building.

This alſo was the very thing that *delayed the building of the temple ſo long*, till God by puniſhments and ſevere chidings, forced them out of it, *Hag.* 1. *compared with Ezra* 4. Indeed at the firſt, the adverſaries, under *colour of the Kings Commiſſion*, made them to ceaſe by force and power; but afterward it was meerly the *Iews baſe ſelf-reſpects that hindred it:* For the truth was, neither the adverſaries complaint to the King was againſt the *Temples building*, but againſt *the Cities*, and accordingly his Decree mentions not the *Temple*, but the *City*. They (the enemies) ſpited the *Temple* chiefly, as looking at that (as it was indeed) as the *pledge* of the *Iews* welfare: But that would have born no colour for a complaint, the *Iews* having had *Cyrus* his command for it; therefore they abuſe the King with the noiſe of danger of rebellion, &c. and ſo *ſurreptitiouſly get a Command* from him, which they abuſe, to make the Temple-work to ceaſe. Thus far *Ezr.* 4. Now *Haggai* tels us, that after this, the *Jews* being able better to brook the want of the *temple*, then of *houſes for themſelves to dwell in*, do for all the Decree, try their adverſaries courteſies, and fall to building of houſes for themſelves, which was indeed properly to build the City, (which the other was not) and then finding their enemies take no *alarme* at that, they proceed to make them gorgeous and gay, *fall to ſieling them*, while they let Gods houſe lie waſte, and ſay, *The time is not yet come for the building of it*; nor never would have come in their conceit, if God would have held his peace, and his Prophets been ſilent, as long as there had been a ſhadow of an adverſary, that had a quarrell againſt the Temple, and ſo againſt them, when they ſhould offer again to go in hand with it.

Confirmed by Reaſons.

What now are the Reaſons of this briefly?

Reaſon 1. Selfe-love prevails in moſt;

1. *The generall corruption that is in all naturally, namely ſelf-love, which makes men ſelf-idols, and ſelf-idolaters.* This is the great cauſe *of the perillous times* foretold, 2 *Tim.* 3. 1. *Men ſhall be lovers of their own ſelves*, even profeſſed Chriſtians would be ſo, more notoriouſly then formerly. Yet before that, St. *Paul* ſadly complains of the generality of Chriſtians, (even Teachers) *All*

ſeek

ſeek their own, not the things of Jeſus Chriſt, Philip. 2. 21. This wholly *poſſeſſes the moſt* (ſc. all that are not truely regenerate) and *taints the beſt* too much, and too often. Hence all Chriſts Diſciples forſake him and flie, when he was apprehended, *Matt.* 26. 56. and all *Pauls* friends, every one of them forſook him at his firſt anſwer, and no man ſtood by him, 2 *Tim.* 4. 16. For——

Doct. 2. Self-reſpects hindet moſt neceſſary duties. Taints all.

2. *Worldly experience teaches, that men oft eſcape by not being too forward, and ſometimes even advantage themſelves beſides.* He that forbears, is ſometimes hid; and enemies ſometimes, will hire even to Neutrality. At this bait, *a ſelf-lover* cannot but bite; and upon this condition, he will never ſtir hand nor tongue, for the Church, or Chriſt, or God, or any thing. Contrarily——

Reaſ. 2. Experience of backwardneſs profitable

3. *There are alſo many experiences that the moſt forward in any Cauſe of danger, are oft loſt, and hardlieſt eſcape.* They run more upon the mouth of danger; provoke the enemies rage more, *in hot blood*, and their malice *in cold blood*, and their fear too, which makes them endeavour their deſtruction above other mens. This no *ſelf-idolater* can abide to think on, and much leſſe to adventure, how neceſſary ſoever it be he ſhould, and though he do appear ſomewhat on the Churches ſide.

Reaſ. 3. Of forwardneſſe hurtfull.

4. *Sometimes meer lazineſſe and ſenſuality, renders men cowards as well as fear*, and keeps them from publike ſervices of any kinde, that muſt coſt them any pains and ſweat, and interrupt them in their eaſe and pleaſures, *which they love more then they do God*, (and therefore much more then they do the Church) *even thoſe, they have a form of godlineſſe, but they deny the power of it*, as the Apoſtle ſpeaks alſo in the forementioned, 2 *Tim.* 3. 5. *The power of godlineſſe* would carry them on to all Endeavours for God, and his Church; But *the form*, will no further then may ſtand with their pleaſures, and that is very-very-little in any time, ſpecially in the times of the Churches dangers.

Reaſ. 4. Lazineſſe and ſenſuality makes cowards and negligent.

5. *Coveteouſneſſe makes many neglect full, and cowardly, as well as any thing.* All activity uſually is coſtly, and their Money is *their life*, at leaſt their vitall ſpirits, their life-blood; therefore if they muſt part with much of that, they grow faint, like men that have loſt much blood, and even the very fear of it, ſtrikes them into a kinde of ſwoun. They may then wiſh better to the

Reaſ. 5. So doth coveteouſneſſe.

Deut. 2. Church then to the adverſaries, for the right of the cauſe, or in the generall. But if they can but fancy a hope that they ſhall keep their goods, if the adverſaries ſhould prevail; the Churches party ſhall ſink and ſtarve, before they will part with much to ſave them, if they can tell how to keep it.

Reaſon. 6. Covetouſneſs, &c. makes do work to halves

6. *Yet again, ſome can ſerve their covetouſneſſe, and ambition, and other luſts much, by ſeeming to do ſomething, but not their utmoſt, that they may ſtill be imployed.* So unfaithfull *Lawyers*, oft prolong Sutes, to get more Fees; and *hard-hearted Chirurgins* torment their Patients with delayes, that they may get more for their Cures: And ſo the complaint is, that *Commanders and Captains* do in their Profeſſion, with dead payes, and falſe muſters, and ſlow proceedings, loſing opportunity. It is charged upon *States-men* too, in their Profeſſion to have this Art. Undoubtedly, the ſpirit of this, is mightily in the world, where opportunity is to advance it; though with the diſadvantage of the Church alwayes, and ſometimes the hazard of her utter ruine.

Reaſon. 7. Envie ſcorns to labour when others ſhall be thanked.

7. *Envie alſo ſometimes is deeply guilty of neglect of duty.* Others (they think) being Chief in the Imployment, are like to be Chief in the thanks, honour, and reward: This thoſe that *dote on themſelves*, their own wiſdome, and worth, *ſcorn, and hate*; and ſo refuſe to do any thing, or at leaſt, do as little as they dare. So was it probably with the Elders of *Succoth*, and *Peniel*, each of them thought himſelf as good a man as *Gideon*, and therefore would not afford him and his weary men, the leaſt relief in their victorious Progreſſe. Certainly, this made the *Ephraimites* quarrell with *Jephtha*, even after they had neglected to help him, *Judg.* 8. 2. And this made *Iſrael* ſo ready to revolt again from *David*, upon *Sheba's* traiterous blowing the Trumpet, 2 *Sam.* 20. becauſe they thought the men of *Judah* would have the greateſt thanks for *bringing the King backe*, cap. 19. Onely once to ſhew that no *poyſon* is ſo venemous, but God can extract good out of it; This *viper of envy*, while it meant to ſting the Apoſtle to death, joyned with him in preaching the Goſpel, for which in deſpite of its devilliſh intention, he rejoyces aloud. But ordinarily, *No diſpoſition is ſo barren of all good, or ſo full of all evill, as this curſed root of envy.*

8. Unto

8. Unto all theſe muſt be added, that *the luſts, and fancies of many, make them fear the Churches proſperity, as well as the enemies triumph, and therefore they will in no wiſe put to their utmoſt ſtrength in her behalf, leſt ſhe growing ſtrong, ſhould too much curb their wilde fancies, and unbridled luſts.* Like unruly children, that deſire not to ſee their Mother recover any weakneſſe, that they may the more freely run up and down without controll. This provokes not a few even to be *enemies* to Chriſt and his Church, *Pſal.* 2. 1,2,3. The fear of his bands and cords, tying them too ſtraitly. Much more then doth it cauſe neglect in too many of thoſe that ſtill profeſſe themſelves *friends.*

Doct. 3. *Reaſon.* 8. Libertines ſpirits fear the Churches proſperity.

9. Finally, *All this flowes from that earthly-mindedneſſe that is in all men naturally,* (and too much of it in all ſtill upon earth) *that they onely, or chiefly, regard things preſent and ſenſible, and prefer them before things ſpirituall and eternall, though never ſo earneſtly, and plainly promiſed, and threatned.* Faith is not ever active, and when it is not (or where it is not at all) many wordly conſiderations, *as preſent and ſenſible,* muſt now over-rule to hinder ſpirituall activity, and hazarding ones ſelf to the utmoſt. *Onely faith in its vigour, makes a man of a true publike ſpirit;* Like *Moſes, Numb.* 11. and *Exod.* 32. and *Numb.* 14. who not only was not content to be happy alone in *Pharaohs* Court, but not in Gods favour. A piece of ſelf-deniall, next to miraculous: But there never aroſe ſuch another *Moſes,* the world is generally quite of another temper.

Reaſon. 9. Earthly-mindedneſſe regards onely preſent and ſenſible things.

Therefore the third Point comes ſeaſonably in, to correct, at leaſt in part, the infection of this peſtilentiall *ſelf-love.* The Point is this: [*Thoſe whom private, and ſelf-reſpects hinder from the Churches help, can have no aſſurance, that they ſhall eſcape more then others.*]

If *Mordecai* ſpake ſenſe, this is a certain truth. *Eſther* was in no humane danger, at leaſt not certainly, or like others, becauſe not known to be a *Jeweſſe,* and ſo within the Decree of deſtruction. And who that had known it, durſt diſcover her, when he could not be aſſured, but that the King, not intending to include her, would for his Honour and Loves ſake exempt her, what ever became of all the reſt? But for all that, *Mordecai* warns her not to preſume upon that, ſo as to neglect her duty, even

Grounded on the Text.

even with the hazarding of her ſelf ſuddenly for the Church: Which muſt needs ſuppoſe this generall truth, and binde it upon all who break looſe from the duty to which they were bound. Few or none can plead ſuch probability of eſcaping as ſhe; and who ever would plead any, doth but paint with falſe and water-colours, eaſily waſht off. See the Reaſons of it.

Deut. 3. S. If reſpecters not aſſured to eſcape.

Confirmed by Reaſon.

Reaſon 1. None can eſcape but by Gods leave.

1. God orders all things, and they muſt have his favour to eſcape, or elſe nothing will ſerve their turn; *Prov.* 29. 26. *Many ſeek the Rulers favour, but every mans judgement comes of the Lord.* If he give ſentence againſt any man, (or woman) in vaine ſhall men abſolve them. *Saul* ſpared *Agag*, and *Agag* concluded that *ſurely the bitterneſſe of death was paſt*; but God had ſaid no ſuch thing, & *Samuel* taught him another leſſon. Let men go, or climb, or flee, or hide themſelves any where, in Heaven, Earth, or ſea, there is no eſcaping from Gods revenging hand, *Amos* 9. 1, 2, 3, 4. Though men ſay with thoſe *ſcornfull men that ruled in Jeruſalem*, Eſay 28. 14, 15. *We have made a Covenant with Death, and with Hell we are at agreement, when the overflowing ſcourge ſhall paſſe through, it ſhall not come unto us, for we have made lyes our refuge, and under falſhood we have hid our ſelves.* Yet if God be not willing to have them eſcape, heare this ſentence and prediction what ſhall befall them: *The haile ſhall ſweep away the refuge of lies, and the waters ſhall overflow the hiding place; and your covenant with death ſhall be diſannulled, and your agreement with hell ſhall not ſtand; when the overflowing ſcourge ſhall paſſe through, then ye ſhal be trodden down by it, &c.* to v. 23. All their hopes ſhall be diſappointed, their ſuppoſed friends prove lyers and enemies, and the evills they promiſed themſelves ſhould not touch them, ſhall utterly overthrow them. He denies *God* to be *Almighty*, that confeſſes him not able to effect this. Few deny it in words; but few think of it in earneſt in their hearts: ſpecially ſuch ſelf-Idolizers as we are now ſpeaking of.

Reaſon 2. Such provoke God more then ordinary ſinners.

2. But to this muſt be added a ſecond conſideration; *That their neglects of duty for the Churches help in time of danger make them more lyable to Gods diſpleaſure then ordinary men*, ordinary ſinners, *Amos* 6. 1, 2, 6, 7. *A woe is to thoſe that were at eaſe, and put the evill day farre from them*, and drinke *wine in bowles, and were not grieved for the affliction of* Joſeph; (ſo farre from helping them,

that

"that they were not troubled at their miſeries) *Therefore ſhall*
"*they go Captive with the firſt that go Captive, &c.* So *Prov.* 24. 13,
"14. *If thou forbear to deliver thoſe that are drawn to death, and*
"*thoſe that are ready to be ſlain.* (If a man afford not his help, to re-
ſcue innocent perſons from the cruelty of thoſe that would but-
cher them, or ſtarve them, or the like) *If thou ſayeſt, Behold we*
"*knew it not,* we knew not that they would be, or were, ſo bar-
barouſly uſed, whereyet they did ſufficiently know it, or might
have done, if they had been willing to have informed them-
ſelves) *Doth not he that ponders the heart, conſider it? and he that*
"*keeps thy ſoul, doth not he know it? and ſhall not he render to every*
"*man according to his works?* Every one hath *ſins enough* at all
times, to enwrap them in common calamities. But by the for-
mer Points it appears, that they are *ſpecially guilty of great ſins*,
for their very neglect of help of their brethren in danger.
Therefore *Moſes* upon this ſuppoſition, firſt *chides*, and then
earneſtly *threatens* the *Reubenites, Gadites, and Manaſſites* on
the other ſide *Jordan*, if they did not help their brethren in
their wars againſt the *Canaanites*. *You have* (then ſaith he)
ſinned againſt the Lord; and be ſure your ſinne will finde you out,
Numb. 32. 23. A man had better have his moſt deadly ſworn
enemy, in the height of his greateſt rage, finde him out, then
his ſin to finde him out. God can, and oft doth, preſerve from
the *one*, but from the *other* nothing ſhall, or can: For then
Gods vengeance hunts, and purſues ſuch men, to their inevita-
ble deſtruction. For——

Doct. 3. Self reſpecters are not ſure to eſcape.

Obſerve this well.

3. The cauſes of their neglects are all baſe luſts, ſuch as at
any time, if there were no ſervice of danger to be undergone
for the Church, would provoke God againſt them to their de-
ſtruction: *Revel.* 21. 8. *The fearfull*, are in the foreſront of
thoſe that ſhall be caſt into hell. And *Mark*, 8. 35. *Whoſoever*
will ſave his life, ſhall loſe it. And *Phil.* 3. 19. Their end is de-
ſtruction, *who minde earthly things.* And 1 *Tim.* 6. 9. Cove-
touſneſſe *drowns men in deſtruction, and perdition.* So ambition,
ſenſuality, envie, and ſelf-love, have all their ſeverall brands,
and threatnings ſufficiently. The refuſall to have Chriſt to
reign over them (which is in the advancement of his Church)
himſelf calls *enmity*, and dooms to damnation, *Luk.* 19. 17.

Reaſon 3. Their baſe luſts deſerve puniſhment at all times.

Doct. 3. Self-reſpecters not ſure to ſcape.

And plainly, *The Nation and Kingdom, that will not ſerve the Church* (in proſperity) *ſhall periſh; Yea, that Nation ſhall be utterly waſted, Iſa.* 60. 12. How much more then any particular perſon? and ſpecially, that will not venture themſelves for her help in danger? For alſo —

Reaſon 4. Their fareſt excuſes are but ſprouts of curſed unbelief.

4. Their fareſt excuſes, *The improbability of doing any good to the Church by their endeavours, and probability of prejudicing themſelves,* if ſtood upon, are nothing but the ſprouts of curſed unbelief, diſhonourable to God, and to his Promiſes made to his Church, and her helpers, as the following Points will help to illuſtrate. Mean time —

Reaſon 5. None go under ſo ſtrong a guard as in the Churches ſervice.

5. This will particularly adde a confirmation, *That no man goeth at any time under ſo ſtrong a guard, as when he ventures himſelf to the utmoſt of duty for the Church.* They are then queſtionleſſe *in their way*; and *He ſhall give his Angels charge over thee, to keep thee* in all thy wayes, *& in their hands they ſhall bear thee up, leſt at any time thou diſh thy foot againſt a ſtone, Pſ.* 91. 11, 12. And *Pſ.* 34. 7. *The Angel of the Lord encamps round about thoſe that fear the Lord, and delivers them.* To end this, conſider, I pray, what occaſion was it, that brought *Eliſha* in danger, for which he had an hoſt of Angels to guard him, 2 *King.* 6. 17. *The mountain full of horſes and chariots of fire round about him:* But when he had done the people of *Iſrael* ſpeciall ſervice, & thereby had provoked the King of *Syria*, namely by warning of his ſecret plots & ambuſhes *againſt Gods people*, for which he ſent an Army to apprehend him. Not but that after all, a man may loſe his life in the Churches Cauſe, (elſe alſo it were no ſuch vertue, or valour) but as he is not hurt by that, (a Chriſtian is not) ſo may he as ſoon die in his bed, and ſooner; which makes his ſinne, in refuſing to venture his life, ſo much the greater, and his danger, in time of danger, ſo much the more deadly. Beſides a further danger afterward, though both he and the Church eſcape for the preſent, as our fift Point gives us to underſtand, and to which I ſhall now proceed, leaving the fourth till afterward, becauſe I will make the application of the ſecond, and third, already diſpatcht, and of the fift all together, and reſerve the two other Points, as the comfortableſt parts (with their Applications) to the cloſe of all.

The Point then to be now handled is this,

[*Though*

[*Though the Church be delivered another way, yet a deſtruction is owing to them and theirs, that have neglected their utmoſt endeavour for her help.*] *Doct.* 5. Deſtruction owing to not helping the Church.

This is a ſecond blaſt of judgment, againſt ungodly neglect of ſo neceſſary duty. Before we heard, That if the Church, or any of her members fall, ſuch are in danger (more then others, rather then leſſe) to periſh too. But this is worſe. The Church may eſcape, and ſhall infallibly, to the utmoſt extent of Gods promiſes; but however they and theirs ſhall periſh, that have been wanting to her. This is moſt plain in the Text: Plainly ratified, *by the curſe* denounced againſt *Meroz*, *Judg.* 5.22, even *after the victory gotten*, and the enemies deſtroyed: And by the *vengeance executed* on the Elders of *Succoth*, and the Inhabitants of *Penuel*, *Judg.* 8. alſo *after the victory and deliverance*: And once more upon the Inhabitants of *Jabeſh Gilead*, for not helping in the *execution of juſtice* againſt the wicked *delinquents of Gibeah*, and their *abettors of Benjamin*, *Judg.* 21. and this alſo after the work done. In this latter, I deny not, but there was too much cruelty uſed to the women and male children of *Jabeſh Gilead*. But all was juſt with God; as beſides, that he never puniſhes any too much (and yet he rules, and over-rules all) the reaſons of the Point will preſently clear. But firſt, I muſt interpoſe a few words of Explication. The 1. is, that by ſaying, Deſtruction is owing to them; Nothing hinders but God may take his own time for payment. He may juſtly do it preſently, and is ever able when he hath a will to it; and ſo in any time of their lives: Or he may ſtay till their death, and reckon with them once for ever, (which is worſt of all for them) according to 2 *Pet.* 3.9. *The Lord knows how to reſerve the unjuſt to the day of judgment, to be puniſhed.* 2. This (as all other ſins) is pardonable; and actually pardoned, upon true repentance, and faith in Chriſt our Surety; and ſo the deſtruction may be altogether avoyded. 3. But if God do afford pardon, he uſually makes ſuch, who have been in any puniſhable degree guilty, feel ſome ſmart of *their untowardneſſe*, whereby alſo he makes way for *their repentance*, and warns others; as he did for their neglect of building the Temple, *Hag.* 1.&2. 4. The deſtruction that the Familie, and Friends of the offenders are enwrapped

Grounded on Text.

Exemplified by the curſe of *Meroz*.

And judgment on *Succoth* & *Penuel*.

And *Jabeſh Gilead*.

Explicated.

1.

2.

3.

4.

Doct. 5. in, is onely *temporall*; unleſſe they be guilty of the ſame ſinne,
Confirmed by Reaſons. or the vengeance of God reckon with them alſo for their ungodlineſſe, in other reſpects. And now the Reaſons of the Point, will ſet it out fully.

Reaſon 1. Their ſins not leſſened by Gods grace, or others faithfulneſſe. 1. *The ſins of thoſe that have neglected to help the Church, are no way leſſened, by Gods over-ruling grace delivering his Church another way, nor by others faithfulneſſe, whom he hath made uſe of to deliver it.* Indeed upon repentance, either and both are matters of comfort, (as *Joſeph* ſpeaks of Gods over-ruling his brethrens wicked malice againſt him, which was worſe then neglect can be, *Gen.* 45.—50.) but both ſet out the more the ſhame of ſuch neglect in it ſelf, becauſe God meant to deliver his Church, and others ventured themſelves for it, but they would not; And ſo their deſtruction is a *due debt to them*, who would not pay the *debt of their endeavours*.

Reaſon 2. They are unprofitable ſervants. 2. The Parable of the *Unprofitable ſervant*, dooms ſuch moſt dreadfully, *Matth.* 25. The Maſter *loſt nothing*, and the fellow-ſervants were *diligent, and gained with their talents*; yet his neglect caſt him into utter-darkneſſe; notwithſtanding the imputation upon his Maſter, of being an auſtere man, which is retorted upon him, and made an aggravation of his fault. We ſhewed in the firſt Point, that all gifts, and abilities, and authority, and all, are all Gods, and are diſpoſed by him, and intended for his Churches good, and ſo for his own glory. They then that have not ſo imployed them, have been ſacrilegious, by perverting them to their own private uſe. Such have been *dead members*, having been altogether uſeleſſe, and ſo fit to be cut off; or *worſe then dead*, diſappointing, and putting to pain, both at once, *like a broken tooth*, Prov. 25. 19. and ſo it is fit to be rid of them. They have been *barren trees*, fit to be cut down, even *for cumbring the ground*, *Luk.* 13. 7. And *Mar.* 11. 13. we read of the fig-tree curſed, even becauſe it was a late-ward tree, and came behinde the uſuall time of other trees. So every way is it moſt juſt with God, to deal with ſuch perſons as have not been fruitfull for the Churches help. And particularly, if any pretend, and profeſſe extraordinary zeal, and forwardneſſe, and yet have *ſecret reſervations*, and give not God, and his Church *all*, even though they *pretend* ſo, and would have the *credit* of ſo doing;

Let

Let them remember the direfull vengeance on *Ananias* and *Sapphira* his wife, for ſuch *hypocriſy*, *Acts* 5.

Doct. 5. Deſtruction owing to not helping the Church.

3. Deſtruction is owing to thoſe that help not the Church in danger; *becauſe they that forſook her in extremity, are altogether unworthy to rejoyce with her in proſperity.* This is reſerved by promiſe only for her mourners, and helpers, *Eſay* 57. 18. 66. 10. and *Pſal.* 122.6. *They ſhall proſper that love thee*; No love in ſuch as forſook her when ſhe had moſt need of their help. Therefore they may be juſtly deprived of the comforts of her Mercies which ſhe finds at laſt. *He ſhall have judgement without mercy, that hath ſhewed no mercy*, *Jam.* 2. 13. Spoken of not *relieving* the neceſſity of *particular Chriſtians* in poverty and want, as the context before and after ſhewes. How much more then will this fall heavy upon the *forſakers* of *a Nation of Chriſtians?*

Reaſon 3. They that forſook the Church in extremity, are unworthy to rejoyce with her in proſperity.

4. *Unleſſe God convert ſuch* effectually, by an inward work, bringing them to ſpeciall repentance for their ſinfull neglects; *Though they may after ſhew great affection and zeale for the Church in her proſperity, yet they ſtill bear falſe and treacherous hearts, & would betray the ſecond time in like extremity.* Therefore the *Iews* did wiſely, that they would not ſuffer the *Samaritans* to build with them, *Ezr.* 4. For that their faſhion was to *claim kindred* of them, when they ſaw the *Jewes* in favour and *proſperous*, and contrarily to *renounce* them when they ſaw them *in a low condition.* Such Hypocriſy God abhorres, and owes them a vengeance for it.

Reaſon 4. Unleſſe converted, they will betray again.

5. *Even during the Churches proſperity, they will never doe* God and the Church *any faithfull ſervice: But only ſtill breake for their own luſts.* This God diſcovers from the firſt, (men ſometimes ſee it a while after:) And therefore ſometimes in graciouſneſſe to his people whom he hath delivered, and is about to reform further, he takes away ſuch droſſe, and purges away ſuch tinne, (ſuch reprobate ſilver) as they are cald, *Jer.* 6. laſt) which may well be underſtood of perſons as well as things, as the next words alſo help to confirme, *Eſa.* 1. *ver.* 25, 26.

Reaſon 5. They will doe no faithfull ſervice the while.

6. Gods jealouſie for his Church, both in reference to the evills that they have been acceſſary to, in not helping her; and to prevent others from following ſuch ill example hereafter, will not ſuffer ſuch to eſcape altogether ſcot-free. God ſaw more evill in their wayes and heart, then man could, *he ſaw*

Reaſon 6. Gods jealouſy will not beare with them.

Doct. 5. Deſtruction owing to not helping the Church. Obſerve this well.

upon the ſame principles urged by ſtronger temptations, they would have proved enemies, though now they were only Neuters, or falſe and hollowhearted, lefthanded friends: It is I ſay, but the ſame principle of wicked ſelfe-love, wrought upon by Satan, and men, with other opportunities that makes ſome men Neuters, and others deſperate enemies, which God ſeeing (though men doe not, or will not, or cannot,) counts all ſuch a generation of vipers and a brood of Serpents, and devotes them to deſtruction. Yet even the omiſſion of duty is directly threatned with damnation, *Mat.* 25. And if ſome did not ſmart ſometimes even for omiſſions in this world, the Church would have a great many fewer helpers then now ſhe hath.

Reaſon 7. They ſin for their children, &c. And corrupt them, and are puniſht in them.

7. Finally, the extending of this deſtruction (by God) to the families and friends of ſuch as help not his Church, is moſt juſt, whenſoever he pleaſes ſo to deale; (and that according to the proportion of humane juſtice in many caſes) 1. *Becauſe Men oft forbear their duties for their children and poſterities ſake, as well as their own,* and ſo they ſtick not to ſay oft-times. Therefore their children ſhall pay for their neglects together with themſelves. 2. *They oft engage them according to their capacity in the ſinne, as well as themſelves,* and train them up (even from children) in Neutrality and Lukewarmneſſe, and a ſpirit of ſelfe-love and ſelfe-ſeeking; therefore God cuts off ſometimes the children too, as a corrupted generation. 3. *At leaſt becauſe men take themſelves to be puniſhed in their families and friends ruine:* Therefore that the feare of that may help to antidote them againſt the ſinne of neglect, and provoke them to the utmoſt of duty; God both threatens ever, and puniſhes ſometimes the families, and friends, as well as themſelves. And ſo I have diſpatched the doctrinall part of this point alſo. I come now to a joynt Application of all the three points together, which will afford a threefold Uſe. 1. Of Examination. 2. Of ſpeciall and re-inforced Humiliation. 3. Of Exhortation. All which have relation alſo to the firſt doctrine of all, as will eaſily appear to any obſervant minde. To begin with the firſt,

Uſe 1. Examination: how far we have helped the Church in her diſtreſſe, or neglected it, and why.

We have here a juſt ground of Examination of our ſelves every one of us, how farre we have helped the Church in her diſtreſſe and danger; and whether any ſelfe-reſpects have hindred us more

more or leſſe: And this will diſpoſe us to Humiliation, and afterwards to Reformation and amendment, ſpecially the more faults and the more aggravations we finde in our ſelves. Of whom we ought in this caſe to be moſt jealouſly inquiſitive even more then we need be of others; and yet thoſe that are publike perſons (whether Miniſters or Magiſtrates) ſeeing wrath upon a Nation, and ſo ſetting upon a Reformation, of neceſſity, ought to make as much enquiry after others alſo, within their ſpheares, as they can. But let me ſpeak chiefly to every ones conſcience for themſelves in particular.

Application Uſe 1. Examination about helping the Church.

Herein according to the help we might and ſhould have afforded, ſhewed in the former uſe, let us examine, 1. *What outward help we have neglected*, particularly ſince the late greateſt dangers of our Church and Nation, and the calamities of *Ireland:* And let our conſciences withall tell us what we *intend & reſolve* to do, in caſe more ſhould be needed. Which as it may *cleare* many very much, though they have not yet altogether ventured ſo much as others: ſo it may *condemne* thoſe greatly, that may ſeem to have done a great deal. If any thinks what he hath done or ventured for the Church, *a great deale*; ſo as he grudges and ſhrinkes at any more offered to be cald for, what need ſoever there may be: If any man think *ought leſſe then all*, enough, he hath yet done *as good as nothing* in Gods account; Whether it be fear, or covetouſneſſe, or ſenſuality, or any other luſt that cauſes him ſo to ſtick, of which the Doctrines and Reaſons forementioned may convince him, if he will throughly lay them to heart as he ſhould.

1. What outward help we have afforded, Or doe yet reſolve if need be or think much to think of.

2. Let us next examine, *how we have prayed*; what ſpeciall helps, ſutable to the Churches ſpeciall dangers, we have that way afforded. And if we find neglects here, (as I much doubt all or moſt may) either in omiſſions, or in ſleight performances: Of theſe ſpecially relating to ſecret prayers, and when others have prayed in our hearing publikely or privately, there can no *poſſible cauſe* be given, but our wretched corruption, prophaneneſſe, uncharitable want of compaſſion, ſtupidity, and unbelief, and ſuch like, too too far prevailing luſts; which make our neglects very culpable in *Gods ſight*, and ſo ſhould they be in ours.

2. How we have prayed

3. Let us next examine, *what example we have ſhewed*; whether

3 What example we ſhewed.

Application Examinat. ther we have helped the Church any way effectually in this, or contrary. Here let me ſpeak a word to three ſorts among us.

Three ſorts guilty.

1. Profeſſed Libertines.

1. Some there are, I am afraid too many, that are as far from *helping the Church* againſt ſin by their *examples* in the leaſt, as the *profeſſed enemies* are from helping her againſt their *own companions*. There are men who in ſtead of profeſſing *godlineſſe*, (which yet in ſpight of their hearts, their very baptiſme and name of Chriſtians, and comming to Church cannot but continually profeſſe) do little leſſe then openly profeſſe *Libertiniſme*, & who make it their boaſt, *that they are not of the preciſer ſort*, as they ſcornfully term them. Such though without any ſolemn examination they may and doe know their own *practiſes*, yet I wiſh that they would but even this day, and this houre, by light of the former Doctrines and Reaſons examine *the guilt* of thoſe *practiſes*, and the diſpleaſure that hangs over their heads, even for the *miſchiefe done to the Church* and Nation hereby, *inſtead of the help they owed*. And with them ——

2. Scandalous Profeſſors of Religion.

2. A ſecond ſort no leſſe guilty, if not rather more (and indeed more in ſome reſpects) are thoſe, who thongh they *deſire to make a ſpeciall ſhew even of Piety* and conſcience, and goe under the name of *Profeſſours*, (as the phraſe hath been much, and is yet ſtill partly among us) doe yet notoriouſly and ſcandalouſly *live in one ill courſe or other*; being known by ſuch as live neer them, and branded, as covetous, falſe in their dealings, filthy, riotous in ſome companies, deviliſh in their families, and the like; to the great reproach of Religion among all thoſe that know or hear of their ungodly and looſe behaviours. Theſe alſo need not ſo much examine themſelves *about their practiſes*, which they cannot be Ignorant or almoſt forgetfull of, *as about the wickedneſſe of them*, even in reference to the Churches prejudice, and danger thereby, they being *her great ſhame and diſeaſe*, and moſt undeniable cauſers of her judgements; and therefore lyable to the moſt exemplary ſeverity of God in his judgements, preſently or at what other time he ſhall pleaſe to reckon with them for it. But beſides both theſe there is yet——

3. The beſt in ſome degree give ſome ill example.

3. A third ſort, whom I muſt alſo call to examination, and here in I ſhall exempt none, though I ſhall now accuſe none particularly, whom their conſcience accuſes not, yet let me ask even

the

the beſt of this Aſſembly, even thoſe that have the greateſt reputation of Honeſt, Conſcionable, and godly, but one or two queſtions. 1. You are (and that deſervedly) well eſteemed of in the generall, yet for all that doth there not lye upon you ſome unhappy note of reproach, a [*But*] of ſome ignominy? *A good man, But, too eager of his pleaſures. A zealous man, But, too ſelf-willed. A religious woman, But, too much given to the faſhion, and worldly pompe, and bravery.* If I durſt tarry upon this point, I could make many more unhappy inſtances in this kind. But let me in one word, put it home to every ones conſcience, by the ſecond queſtion. Are not the beſt, at leaſt ſometimes, *guilty to themſelves*, of ſuch *outward* miſcaraige, as were it not for the *Doctrine of the Saints infirmities*, it would *ſhame and diſhearten* them utterly? But though by that *doctrine* and the grace of Chriſt, they may indeed wel think themſelves *diſcharged* of thoſe miſcariages in regard of *guilt*, redounding to damnation; yet let me charge them back upon them thus farre, as to call them to examine the *offence* of ſuch *infirmities* this day, as things that beſides the perſonall evill of them, have done *miſchief* in the example, and hardned *ſome ſinners*, and multiplied *many ſinnes*; while 1. Some thereby take liberty to themſelves, to practiſe the ſame evils often, which they ſaw in them but once, and to practiſe others upon this pretence, *Such have their ſins for their turn, and this is for mine.* 2. Others to *reproach all religion* as hypocriſie, even for ſuch a *ſingle infirmity*. And 3. others again, call their enormous cuſtomary ſins, *infirmities*, and will count themſelves children of God for all that, as ſuppoſing thoſe in others in whom they ſaw even once ſuch an infirmity, to *offend ſo often*, or in other kindes: And ſo by *one root of bitterneſſe ſpringing up* (as it is *Heb.* 12. 15.) *many are defiled*, and many more *may be*. And all is miſchievous to the Church, in ſtead of helping it in its time of need.

Application. Uſe 1.

Examination what example we have ſhewed.

Miſchiefs of it to the Church

1. It multiplies ſins.

2. Reproaches religion.

3. Hardens ſelf-flatterers.

I have one piece of Examination more, to put to every conſcience; which is, what help we have afforded the Church, groaning under the burden of ſin, by *endeavouring an effectuall reformation*, according to our *utmoſt ſtrength and authority*, whether Domeſticall, or Friendly, Miniſteriall, or Magiſteriall.

3. What endeavour of reformation for the Churches help.

1. *Domeſticall*: We ſhould (all that have families to govern) have

1. Domeſticall

Application. Examination Gen. 18. 18. Joſh. 24. 15. Pſal. 101. Rom. 15. Col. 4.

have done like *Abraham*, *Command our children, and houſhold to keep the way of the Lord*; Like *Ioſhua*, to *reſolve, that not we onely, but our houſe ſhall ſerve the Lord*; Like *David*, *to endure no deceitfull perſons, tellers of lies, any wicked ones, to abide in our houſes, in our ſight*: But to make our Families *Churches*, as it is phraſed of ſundry Saints in the New Teſtament. But will our conſciences now ſay, We have done ſo? How many are there, *whoſe ſervants are ignorant, while themſelves abound in knowledge*, and even while they keep *Miniſters* in their houſes too? How many who while *they* go to *Church*, their ſervants either *ſtay at home*, or go to the *Tavern*, or perhaps *worſe* places? Their *Cooks* ſpecially ſeem *priviledged* to keep no *ſabbath*, take no other *care* of their own *ſouls*, then by providing *meat* for their Maſters, and the Families *bellies*: And their *Coach-men*, and *Foot-men*, ſerve God ſufficiently, if they *looke to their horſes* at the Church door? How many are there, whoſe *ſervants* notoriouſly *ſcorn that holineſſe* their *Governours* ſeem to *profeſſe*; or at leaſt make not ſo much as *a ſhew* of regarding it? Who have ſome *Family-duties*, when they are at *leiſure*, and half their *family abſent*, and at ſuch *unſeaſonable* times at *night*, as more then half *that half, are aſleep* moſt of the time? How many, that never think of being ſo much angry that their ſervants *offend God* in any thing, as when *they offend them*, or putting ſo much weight upon *Gods commands*, in any thing, as they do upon *their own*? How many, whoſe *children* are very, very *little different* in outward behaviour, *from thoſe, whoſe parents make no ſuch ſhew of piety* as they do in any ſort? The *Daughters*, in idleneſſe, boldneſſe, pride, and pomp. The *Sons* in *licentiouſneſſe*, according as their fancy leads them? *How exceeding few are otherwiſe*? I tremble to think, and dare not (becauſe of the time) enlarge my ſelf to expreſſe, *what wofull deformities there are in Chriſtians families*, and therefore how little help ſuch afford the Church, and ſpecially, what will become of the *next generation*, if things hold on as they do. But yet, though but *a little* any where, yet *ſome there is* doubtleſſe, of care to *reforme families*, and keep ſin under there.

In reference to ſervants.

To children.

2. By authority of friendſhip.

But 2. May we hope the like of *any endeavours towards friends*? We ſhould have ſhewed the trueſt friendſhip to the ſoul,

not

not to ſuffer ſin upon them; at leaſt have ſhewed *our ſelves grieved* to ſee them ſin. But will our conſciences ſay, we have done this? Can we *name thoſe*, that have in this kinde been the better for us? Or if *ſome are*, had we power *with no more*? Have we ſo much as tried in any whether they would *endure* a reproof? Have we ever *ventured to loſe them*, rather then they ſhould *loſe Gods favour*, or their ſouls, or the comforts of a good conſcience? Have we ventured to have them ſay, *We hate them*, becauſe we would not, (could not) forbear to croſſe them in their wayes of evill? *Alas, alas! where is this to be found?* And how little help hath the Church had from us in this regard? *Iſrael* in their good temper, would even *fight with their brethren*, (that had a great while *fought for them*) rather then their ſin ſhould *endanger the Church* generally, and *offer alſo to give them a fifth part* of their lands, *to hire them* not to ſin.

Application. *Uſe 1.* *Examination* What help to the Church, by endeavouring to reform Levit. 19. 17. Joſh 22.

3. What ſhall I ſay for my own profeſſion? *God be mercifull unto us*, to the moſt zealous of us, that we have afforded no more help *publikely*, by crying down *all* ſinne, in our *own* Congregations, or *others*: Even upon *dayes* of Publike humiliations, *how little* do we preach againſt ſin. And then, *for private*, Oh the woſull neglect among *our own* people at home, or *friends abroad*! We are *afraid* to provoke them, to *loſe* them, to be loſers by their *diſfavour*, to incur danger by their *diſpleaſure*. We are afraid to *diſcourage* men now, if we ſhould *denounce* Gods judgments for their ſins, and to *arm Malignants* with reproaches, if ſpecially we preach againſt the ſins of *Profeſſors*. But did Gods Prophets forbear ever for either, or both theſe cauſes? Or is the Church helped, by the courage of thoſe againſt whom God is angry, for their unreformed lives? or credited by our ſilence, when their misbehaviours make a loud noiſe? I muſt ſay, (as he) *When we all have preached Repentance, as much as we have preacht firſt, Confidence, and then Faith, we ſhalbe reformed and ſaved*; and I doubt not till then. And that men receive it *ſo ill* from ſome few, or are diſpleaſed with *ſome few* words from any, it is becauſe we all uſe them *to ſo little*; and in all help the Church *little*: whereas we, *of all others*, ſhould be ever her *principall helpers* againſt ſin.

3. By Miniſters Publikely. Privately. Remember this.

4. Finally, Magiſtrates ſhould have uſed their utmoſt Au-

4. By Magiſtrates.

Application. Uſe. 2. thority to ſuppreſſe *ſin*, which *oppreſſes* the Church. I need not ask in moſt places, whether this have been done:

Humiliation for helping the Church ſo little.

I fall rather upon the ſecond part of the *neceſſary Application* of our *foregoing Doctrins*, concerning the duty of helping the Church, and the ſin and danger of neglecting it, which is to *call us all to a ſerious and ſad Humiliation*, as many as have been remembred by their conſciences of any neglects, ſpecially *willing*, and moſt of all *cuſtomary*. To humiliation; I ſay, as for *our own moſt ſecret*, and perſonall ſins, ſo *for all our guilt of not helping the Church*, as we might, and ought; and for all our *Nations ſins*, (even thoſe of our forefathers) together with the judgments lying upon the Church and Nation, and hanging over us. We are to be *humbled this day*, even for our want of *humiliation hitherto*, wherein I much fear, the beſt of us have been too *defective*. This is a day of learning it, *God and man have commanded the preaching of it*, (*ſpecially on theſe dayes*) as well as practiſing it, and of *practiſing* it, as well as *learning* it. I have a little *taught* it this day, and would now fain *work the practiſe* of it, upon my own heart, and yours. Let us then, I beſeech you, *fix our mindes* upon our *ſins*, perſonall, and nationall, and the *deſert* of them, that Gods glory *may now be advanced*, by our thoughts of both, quickned by the apprehenſion of our calamities, as it *hath been diſhonoured* by our former ſinfulneſſe. Remembring ſpecially the Apoſtles argument, 1 *Cor.* 11. 31, 32. ſpoken indeed of a particular caſe, *but one more neerly concerning our Nation*, then any other Reformed Church, perhaps in all the Chriſtian world, (as I ſhall touch by and by) as undoubtedly appliable generally to all ſins. *If we would judge our ſelves, we ſhould not be judged. But when we are judged, we are chaſtened of the Lord, that we ſhould not be condemned with the world.*

Specially this being a main duty of the day.

And there being ſo much cauſe.

Let us then acknowledge for our ſelves and our Nation, that according to the late *Covenant*, ordered to paſſe through the Kingdom; [*Our own ſins, and the ſins of this Nation, have deſerved the judgments and calamities that lie upon it.*] Which that we all may do the more heartily, and humbly, let me *now* preſent you with a brief *Catalogue* of ſome *more capitall* Nationall ſins among us; and then *once more*, minde you ſomewhat further of Gods *heavy wrath*, greatly declared againſt us in his judg-

ment

ment for theſe ſins. And then ſee, whether we can chuſe but be *exceedingly humbled* both for the one, and the other, now and hereafter. *Application. Uſe 2.*

Here I reckon, to begin with, *againſt the* firſt *Commandement*, Idolatry, Ignorance, and Atheiſticall ſcorning of all Religion, conſcience, and civill honeſty. Humiliation for Nationall ſins.

The firſt of theſe *Idolatry*, the ſinne that is moſt *formall high treaſon againſt God*, is aggravated in our Nation and Kingdom, ſince the Reformation, by the continuall plottings of *idolatrous Papiſts, trayters unto our Kingdom*, which (together with the great danger we have been in, and are ſpecially now at this day, by their conſpiracies) are at once a juſt reward of our too much tolerating them, from the very firſt, but much more of late years; and a ſtrange ſymptome of *ſtrange lukewarmneſſe* in us, to *ſuffer* ſuch enemies to God and our ſelves ſo much, while yet they ſo often, and ſo deſperately *refuſed to ſuffer us* to be at quiet in our condition, notwithſtanding. 1. For our Nations ſins againſt the 1. Cõmandment. Idolatry.

The 2. *Ignorance*, is very much aggravated, by the innumerable multitudes tainted with that ſoul-killing ſin, *in which of all others it is impoſſible for any to be ſaved:* And yet ſcarce a fiſt, I may ſay a tenth man, or woman, through the whole Kingdom, in a better condition, as will be found to our incomparable grief and ſhame, ſpecially (the Lawes and perſons have been ſo extremly wanting to remedy this, all this while) when once an effectuall courſe comes to be taken, to make this Land a Chriſtian Nation in earneſt, by bringing the generality of our people to knowledge. Ignorance.

The 3. is a wickedneſſe, *unheard of*, I think in the world, *among any people, of any religion whatſoever*, (unleſſe in *Italy*, where yet it is not comparable to what is among us) and moſt audaciouſly, and uncontrolledly practiſed in our *England* every where, even by no beggers neither. And this I rank under the 1. Commandement, though immediatly ſeeming to be againſt men, becauſe it is againſt men, *meerly for Gods ſake*, becauſe they ſhew ſome reſpect to his Law and Word, and ſo moſt properly againſt God himſelf. I know not whether a formall Atheiſt, known to be ſo, but keeping himſelf quiet, would do the one half of that miſchief that this Atheiſticall ſcorner doth. Atheiſticall ſcorning of religion, and all honeſty.

Application. Uſe 2. Humiliation for ſins againſt the 2. Com-

Againſt the ſecond, I name *ſuperſtition*, and the heavy *weight* put upon *ceremonies*, and circumſtances, and humane *ordinances*, while the holy *Ordinances of God* have been ſhamefully neglected, by an Ignorant-pluralizing-nonreſident-careleſſe, and unſufficiently-maintained-*Miniſtery*; and a prophane people, that liked all this well enough, *and even loved to have it ſo.*

Againſt the 3. Commandm.

Againſt the third: 1. *Vain oaths*, curſings, and blaſphemies, in infinite multitudes. 2. And either *unneceſſary oaths*, in Univerſities, and upon Officers, and Inqueſts, and private perſons; Or, 3. at leaſt *no regard of their obſervation*, in thoſe that take them, or in thoſe that give them. 4. *Extream prophaneneſſe* in the common-ſort, (and others) in the very *publike Aſſemblies*, and the moſt ſolemn ſervices of God, by ſleeping, goirg out and in at their pleaſure, talking, and laughing oft-times, and no redreſſe of it, by Officers care, or Magiſtrates endeavour. 5. A *twiſted cord of Simony, and perjury, for Benefices.* 6. Alſo a flood of *riot, and drunkenneſſe*, overflowing all places, and bearing down all reproof. 7. And finally, the moſt *horrid prophanation of the Sacrament of the Lords Supper*, by the unworthy receiving of ignorant, and apparently godleſſe perſons. The inexcuſable fault of perſons in authority, (and even of Laws too) in ſuffering ſuch pollution, of ſo ſacred an Ordinance: Pollution, I ſay, to thoſe prophane receivers of it to their own damnation, though not to others, who have no authority to keep them back. And yet that *heart-grief*, that they who are the moſt zealous for Chriſts honour, and other mens ſouls, herein have taken for ſuch Prophanation, and the *grievous ſcandall* that this hath continually given, and doth give to this day, to (many thouſands perhaps of) weak ones, whom this alone hath driven from our Church, is a fearfull aggravation of this ſinne of our Nation.

As alſo the monſtrous prophanation of that ſacred Ordinance of Excommunication, made to lacquy for fees, or perſecute godlineſs.

Againſt the 4. Commandm.

Againſt the fourth, there hath been moſt notorious prophanations, violations of *the Sabbath*, the Lords day, and notwithſtanding the Doctrin of it more clearly among us, even authorized, then any where elſe in the world, as alſo the practiſe of it more glorious here, then any where, and an anſwerable proſperity, ever ſince Queen *Elizabeths* time, according to the

propheſie

propheſie (*Eſay* 58,13,14.) yet the prophanation had been more impudent and outragious then any where elſe: Men having undertaken to make void Gods holy Commandment, as it were by a Law, and even by perſecuting all that would not conſent to ſuch violation; Then which, ſcarce ſo great affront was ever put upon God by any Nation profeſſing his Name. *Application, Uſe 2.* Humiliation for Nationall ſin.

Againſt the fift, *Clandeſtine marriages*, without, and againſt Parents conſent, for which the Lawes have no ſufficient prevention nor redreſſe. Againſt the 5. Commandm.

Againſt the ſixt, *The fearfull guilt of innocent blood of the Martyrs*, ſhed of old in time of Popery, and the *freſh bleeding wounds* (though not to the extremity, becauſe power was wanting) of *Gods faithfulleſt Miniſters and people*, perſecuted to the utmoſt extremity *of colour of law*, and oft a great way *beyond law:* Many pincht, themſelves and families, *next to utter undoing*, if not altogether, with *ſore wants* by that means. Thouſands of late *driven* out of the Kingdom into *America*, and *threatned* even there too. And by and with all this, *That ſcarce at all feared, or thought of, but moſt prodigiouſly frightfull guilt of the blood of ſouls.* Againſt the 6. Commandm. Note this well

Thouſands, and Millions (ſo far as can be judged by any rules of Scripture) *gone to hell*, out of this Kingdom, even ſince the reformation, for *want of good lawes*, and through *wicked Magiſtrates*, Civill, and Eccleſiaſticall, and *wicked Miniſters*, and Neighbours, in ſtead of good ones. Millions, I ſay, now howling in hell, in thoſe infernall flames, from whence there is no redemption, damned through the *undeniable defect* of ſufficient means of ſalvation in an ordinary way; and through the *damnable perſecution*, made againſt *all ſhew of godlineſſe*. A wickedneſſe, for which alone, *it is next a miracle*, that God hath not ſunk the whole Kingdom into *the bottom of the Sea*, long ere this. Note this ſpecially.

Againſt the ſeventh, The *abominable filthineſſe* of whoredom, and adultery ſpecially, never ſufficiently ſhamed, or frighted, but of late years grown beyond all ſhame. And the *wickedneſſe of Play-houſes* ſuffered, which though generally againſt all the Commandments, one way or other, yet for the moſt part, more immediatly againſt this. Againſt the 7. Commandm.

Againſt the eighth, The oppreſſion, *uſury*, racking of Rents, *Incloſures*, Againſt the 8. Commandm.

Application. *Vſe.* 2. Humiliation for nationall ſins.

Inclosures, depopulations, *defrauding of Creditors*, by lands paying no debts, and of *Purchaſers* by preconveyances, *Perverting of juſtice*, Ingroſſing commodities, *enhanncing of priſes*, every where cried out upon.

Againſt the ninth, *All kinde of lying, and ſlandering.*

Againſt the 9. Commandm. Againſt all generally. Lukewarmneſs of Laws. Obſerve this well.

And finally, againſt all the Commandments, *The generall lukewarmneſſe of all our Lawes againſt ſinne*, either belonging to the firſt, or ſecond Table. I cannot now inſtance in the particulars; But if it be ſeriouſly conſidered, it will be found as I ſay, That *ſcarce any one Law* made ſince the Reformation, for Religion, or againſt any particular ſin, *but hath a deep taint of Laodicean lukewarmneſſe*; ſomething is ſaid, as to reſtrain wickedneſſe, but ſo weakly, as *there is much to be conſidered, even about our beſt Laws*: But withall, there hath been generally, a great *want of a godly Diſcipline* for the Church all this while. The government being left in the hands of men, who were *ſcarce ſo much as likely in reaſon*, to uſe that power they had, according to God. I mean *the Chancellours, and Commiſſaries, &c.* who managed all. Men that uſually *bought their Offices*, and ſo moſt *likely to ſell the ſinnes* of the people: And who had more reaſon (for their gains-ſake) to be skilfull in the *Popes Canon Law*, then in *Gods Canonicall Scripture*. And who might uſually *do what they liſt* ſecurely, becauſe all *appeals* were, for the moſt part, *made to men of their own profeſſion*, and like themſelves; and yet they had *not ſo much power to do good, as to do evill.* Finally, the *want of a publike care, to breed up children*, the poor ſpecially; and *neglect of viſiting Schools, and Univerſities*, whereby a *ſeed of evill doers* hath ſtill ſprung up, to fill the Land with corruption. And of all this, there is ſcarce any thing, but to a *rationall obſervant man*, hath been, and is, *notorious*, or may be ſoon made ſo, and declared to be abominable in the ſight of God: For which we may well fear his ſpeaking againſt us, as againſt his people of old, *Jer.* 5. & 9. *Shall I not viſit for theſe things, ſaith the Lord, ſhall not my ſoul be avenged on ſuch a Nation as this?*

The diſcipline of the Church in ill hands.

Neglect of children, and youth.

For great wrath manifeſted in Gods judgements, in 10. conſiderations.

Doubtleſſe, he hath begun to *viſit us for theſe things*, (beſides many other our wickednesſes) and that *his ſoul may not be avenged on us*, we had need exceedingly to *affect, and afflict, and humble our ſouls*, with a holy fear of his diſpleaſure, already manifeſted

ſted unto us, and proclaimed againſt us, and namely by *a tenfold Conſideration* of the dreadfulneſſe of the judgment which we all lie under, and are in extream danger of. *Application. Uſe 1.*

1. *The judgement in it ſelf*, touched a little before; *A ſword drawn* againſt us, with ſo much *advantage* for our enemies, and *diſadvantage* to our ſelves, and with ſuch *deſperate* purpoſes of our utter ruine. You have more then once heard of the calamities of *warre*, therefore I inſiſt no further upon that; onely remember, that when God is *moſt angry*, he threatens that, *Eſay* 1. 20. and often elſe where. 1. The judgment it ſelf, a devouring ſword. Eſay 1. 20.

2. *The kinde of the judgment*, a civill war, or rather an *unnaturall inteſtine* war, a war againſt our own bowells. *Scarce a family in the whole Kingdom, that is not engaged againſt it ſelf.* This is according to the heavy curſe, of *filling Kings, Princes, Prophets, inhabitants of Judah and Jeruſalem with drunkenneſſe*, Politick drunkenneſſe, and *daſhing one againſt another*, (the brother againſt the brother) *the fathers and the ſons together*, Jer. 13. 13, 14. and obſerve what follows in the end of ver. 14. *I will not ſpare, nor have pity; not have mercy, but deſtroy them.* And if we be not all utterly deſtroyed, yet manifold families will undoubtedly; and thoſe that remain, will be ſuch enemies to their neighbours, and one to another in the ſame family, as *God* alone knows when the direfull effects of that *drunkenneſſe* will ceaſe, even though the war be ceaſed. 2. The kinde, Civill war by drunkenneſſe. Jer. 13. 13, 14.

3. *The occaſion was moſt dreadfull*; That which was meant, and hoped to have been our ſafety, the *ſetling of the Militia*, petitioned by *all Countries*, acknowledged *by the King neceſſary* to be done, ſeemed to be *granted*, and then *refuſed*; whereby the Parliament ſaw themſelves forced *to ſettle it.* This proved the *pretence*, and occaſion of *all our unſetling.* Anſwerable to that heavie curſe even againſt the enemies of Chriſt, *Pſal. 69. 22. Let that which ſhould have been for their welfare, become a trap.* 3. Occaſion, the *Militia*, hoped to be our ſetling.

4. *The humane meanes of prevention, ſeeming moſt ſufficient, yet rather cauſing, and encreaſing the miſchief.* A *Parliament* ſitting, Choſen with the *greateſt care* that ever the Countries took in any Age; *Never a choyſer company of wiſe and good men*, ſeemed to be gathered together, and *all the wiſdome of the Land beſides*, contributing to the counſels of the one ſide, and the other, in 4. Suffi. ient means of prevention, vain; wiſe men confounded. Eſay 29. 14.

Application. *Vſe 2.* Humiliation for Gods heavie wrath.

Parliament, and out of Parliament, and *engaging* themſelves to the utmoſt, and having *a long time of debate*, by words, and meſſages, and writing, ſpace to ſee the *wiſdome*, and *faithfull* intentions of each other, and *to manifeſt their own*; and after all, to agree in nothing but diſagreement and confuſion, (*like drunken men as before*) what a wofull curſe is this? ſpecially being forepropheſied againſt *Iſrael*, *Eſay* 29, 14. *Behold, I will proceed to do a marvellous work among this people, even a marvellous work, and a wonder; for the wiſdome of their wiſe men ſhall periſh, and the underſtanding of their prudent men ſhall be hid.* Many confounded that they gave nothing but *miſchievous* counſell, which onely was *beleeved*; and others ſo confounded, that their *faithfull* counſels were *diſcredited*, as when God meant to bring a ſcourge on *Rehoboam*, and vengeance on *Abſalom*.

5. Example of others (and our ſelves in others caſe) bleſt with more wiſdome and ſucceſſe. * Hoſ. 1.6,7. Exod.9.& 10.

5. All this aggravated by *example of others, finding that favour with God*, that we could *not finde*, (according to the difference between * *Judah* and *Iſrael*, or *Goſhen* and *Ægypt*, *Exod.*9. and 10.) that we and they both could then be *wiſe and proſperous*, and *we ſo unhappy*, in and *among our ſelves*. Our brethren of *Scotland* had much the ſame Cauſe; God then let us *be wiſe* for them and our ſelves together, and the danger of thoſe warres between them and us, after neer three years hazard, ended with *very little blood*, and with *great* peace and amity. But God hath denied us this favour, this wiſdome, ſo that his anger appears to be the more againſt us; and we ſeem ſtill the more *filled with drunkenneſſe*.

6. The ground of the quarrel. Both proteſt for the ſame things.

6. *The ground of the quarrell as held forth on both ſides, makes ſtill the miſchief a greater prodigie.* The honour, dignity of the King, the Priviledges of Parliament, the Law of the Land, the property and liberty of the Subject, are fought for on both ſides, and which is moſt admirable, the *ſame Religion*, the true Religion, Proteſtant Religion, (*except onely that the Popiſh Army in the North*, are ſo honeſt, or ſo impudent, *as to diſclaim that Cauſe, and profeſſe to fight for their own Religion.*) And all this, is Proteſted before God and man, heaven and earth; all the world is called to witneſſe of their faithfull purpoſes and intentions. And is not here then a *ſtrange drunkenneſſe*, at leaſt on one ſide? and a ſtrange curſe? ſcarce the like ever heard of in the world.

What!

What! are both sides hypocrites? or one onely? or neither? Every way it is most dreadfull, and wofull. 1. *If both sides bee generally hypocrites*, or the chief of both; Can God but resolve to destroy us all, as a most perfidious Nation, unworthy to live in the world, and deal with us, as *Esay* 10. 5, 6. *Even send a forrein enemy, to take the prey, and take the spoil, and to tread us all down, like the mire of the streets?* 2. *If one side be faithfull*, and the other not, yet is it not most dreadfull, that God should let *hypocrites* so far prevail, as first to seduce many well meaning people, (as *Absalom* under pretence of a vow he had made, carried away 200. *honest Citizens of Ierusalem, who went with him in their simplicity, and knew not any thing*, but when he had them there, he soon turned them into conspirators and rebells like himself) and then to prevail so far, to *endanger the most faithfull of the Land?* 3. Contrarily, if *both sides can be thought to mean faithfully*, and onely disagree through *mistakes, and misunderstandings*; Is not this a prodigie of Gods displeasure against us? Is not this most emphatically a *filling us with drunkennesse*, (as before) that we kill our *friends as foes*, and they us, in like sort. (Like the terrible vengeance on the enemies of God and his Church, 2 *Chron.* 20. 23. till they had utterly destroyed one the other.) But God *never did thus to his faithfull people* since the world was. Therefore sure this cannot be the case with us. Yet still, (as before) take it which way you will, it is a most *horrible and dreadfull wrath* against our Kingdom and Nation, even in this respect.

Application.
Use 2.
Suppose both side, hypocrits. Esay 10 5,6.
Or one side. 2 Sam. 15.11.
Or both sides meaning right.
2 Chro. 20 23.

7. *The time when this evill befell us*, is greatly observable, as proclaiming still more wrath; 1. *In civill respects.* In how fair hopes of setling were we? Specially *this Parliament* being *continued by an Act*, and so many good Acts made besides. And now for God to deal so, as to undo all, threaten this Parliament with the *worst kinde of dissolution*, by the *sword*, which may kill *all Parliaments for ever*; What is it but the heavy wrath threatned, *Jer.* 18. 9, 10. *At what instant I shall speak concerning a nation, and concerning a Kingdom, to build and to plant it; If it do evill in my sight, that it obey not my voyce, then I will repent of the good, wherewith I said I would benefit them?*

7. The time in civill respects, when in hopes of setling. Jer. 18.9, 10.

8. *The time*, 2*ly. in spirituall respects*, pronounces the indignation more hot, and heavy against us. For God to do this, *not*

8. The time in spiritual respects, when we expected reformation, and desired it. Ezek 24.13,14

Application. *Uſe* 2. Humiliation for Gods heavie Wrath.

onely to a Nation, but *a Church*; *not onely* to a people, *but His people*; To blaſt, and offer ſo to daſh in pieces *all the hopes* he had given them *of a Reformation*, by them laboured for, *at leaſt with great ſeeming earneſtneſſe*; and in ſtead hereof, to threaten the *totall ruine* of the Church, and true Religion among us, by the hands of her *moſt cruell Popiſh enemies*. How enraged is God, when he ſo refuſes to reform us, who pretended ſuch deſire of Reformation? Like that moſt terrible threat of vengeance, *Ezek.* 24. 13, 14. *I have purged thee, and thou waſt not purged, thou ſhalt not be purged from thy filthineſſe any more, till I have cauſed my fury to reſt upon thee. I the Lord have ſpoken it, it ſhall come to paſſe, and I will do it, I will not go back, neither will I ſpare, neither will I repent; according to thy wayes, and according to thy doings, ſhall they judge thee, ſaith the Lord.*

9. Willingneſs to obey in helping *Ireland* refuſed. Eſay 31. 3.

9. *The obedience we would yeeld to him*, in yeelding help to our brethren of *Ireland*, according to the *duty of this Text*, and many other places, adds to the manifeſtation of his wrath againſt us and *Ireland* both. He here threatens *deſtruction for not helping*, and gives *hopes* to thoſe that *will*. How angry is he then, that will not afford *us leiſure*, or means, nor *them any help by us*? But as this ſhewed his heavy wrath againſt *Iſrael*, when he would not regard them, ſeeming willing to *truſt and obey him*, after their rebellious diſtruſt, *Numb.* 14. And as *Eſay* 31. *threatens both the helpers, and the helped together*, ver. 3. So God ſeems to deal with us and *Ireland*, as if he alſo meant to fulfill the very word of the *Iriſh* rebells, many Moneths ago; *That they hoped to finde us ſo much work at home, as we ſhould have no leiſure to ſend much help thither*: And as though God meant to deſtroy his Church in *England*, and *Ireland* both together. Thus all things proclaim his exceeding fierce wrath againſt us.

10. Spirituall means to make our peace fruitleſſe. Prayer, Pſal. 80. 4.

10. One thing yet further, adds exceedingly to the notification of Gods fierce wrath againſt us; *The means we have had and uſed, to make our peace with God.* Never ſo much *faſting and prayer* in *England*; eighteen Moneths *ſolemn faſts by Authority*, (beſides all *voluntary* ones, by the liberty that there is now of ſo doing) with ſo many *millions* of prayers, daily and continually; and all theſe as it were rejected, or at leaſt in a great degree, according to the *ſad complaint*, *Pſal.* 80. 4, *How long wilt thou be an-*

gry againſt the prayer of thy people? and the more ſad threatning, *Jer.14.12. When they faſt I will not hear their cry, & when they offer burnt offering and an oblation, I will not accept them: but I will conſume them by the ſword, and by the famine, and by the peſtilence.* What will God regard, if he turn away his eye from ſuch ſolemn ſervices, from ſuch *out-cries of prayers?* How greatly muſt we needs ſay, he is provoked againſt us? Specially alſo, when we have had alſo ſome beginnings of *Reformation*; reſtoring liberty to many faithfull Miniſters, and encouraging Preaching, repreſſing the prophanation of the the Lords Sabbath, and pulling down Images, and Croſſes: and yet (our *miſeries ſtill continue*, and work higher, rather then otherwiſe) *For all this his anger is not turned away, but his hand is ſtretched out ſtill*, as the Prophet,

Application. Uſe 2.
Faſting, Jer. 14.12.

Some Reformation.

Jer. 5.9.

And now (*Honourable and Beloved*) when you have heard all theſe tokens of Gods diſpleaſure againſt us, and our Nation, can you chuſe but *tremble*, and humble your ſouls greatly, *before your God* this day? Certainly, we cannot beleeve *Him to be juſt*, but we muſt needs acknowledge our *ſinnes* to be very *grievous*, and *hainous*, that have provoked ſuch a *wrath*, as theſe things diſcover to be *kindled* againſt us. So that if we could ſpend all the remaining part of this day, in *bewayling* and *bemoaning* the vileneſſe of our tranſgreſſions: If we could *wear out all our ſtrength*, and ſpirits, in dolefull lamentation: *If we could weep out our eyes*, and diſtill all the moiſture of our bodies *into tears of blood*, we yet ſhould not ſufficiently mourn for our iniquities, nor make an acknowledgment anſwerable to our demerits, or to the juſt indignation manifeſted againſt us. *God Almighty grant, for Jeſus Chriſts ſake, that we may all think of theſe things more then ever yet we have done, and be more affected, and grieved, and humbled, (for our own, and our Nations ſins, and ſhares in wrath) then formerly we have been, that ſo we may be diſpoſed the better to embrace the exhortation to amendment of our ſelves, and reformation of others, to the uttermoſt of our power ever hereafter.*

Reinforcemẽt of our Humiliation.

Mean while, in a day of *ſolemn humiliation*, and time of ſuch danger, and being ſpecially called to deliver Gods Meſſage, at this time, in this place; and all Miniſters being charged by the religious Ordinance, ſet forth divers Moneths ago, [*in their ſeverall Auditories, ſpecially on the faſt dayes, moſt earneſtly*

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to perſwade, and inculcate the conſtant practiſe of this publike acknowledgement, and deep humiliation] Let me take leave to diſcharge my conſcience in a humble *trembling* repreſentation to that high Authority, that hath required my ſervice this day, of the fitneſſe of their taking into conſideration, *What humiliation is*, or may be *required of them as a Body*? Comming hither as the heads of our ſeverall Tribes, and Elders of our Cities? You had at the firſt, beſides your own perſonall ſins, the ſins of the Nation, whom you repreſent, and of former Parliaments, whom you ſucceed, to be humbled for, namely ſuch, and ſo many, as you did, or could take notice of. But you had not then any actions of your own, as a joynt body, to conſider, whether there were any failings in you; as now after many dayes, and moneths, even ſome years ſitting together you have. And it is, *at leaſt poſſible*, that you may finde failings in ſome things, in ſo long time, and ſo many buſineſſes. Your enemies and the Churches charge you with enough, with multitudes. I dare not ſecond them, nor abett any of their virulent reproaches. But doubtleſſe it is poſſible, you may have had failings, of ſome kinde or other. Conſider then, I beſeech you, in the Name and preſence *of the great God*, before whom you are come as a Body this day, to humble your ſelves, and afflict your ſouls, whether there be not ſomewhat to be ſought out among you, for which you are all joyntly as a Body to be humbled.

You cannot but remember, 1. *What great things God hath done for you*, Above all Parliaments, ever ſince any were. I ſhall have occaſion to touch ſome of them anon. *Do your conſciences* now think, *that as a Parliamentary Body*, you have fully anſwered all his favours hitherto?

2. Alſo you cannot but remember (and we alſo ever muſt, as with thankfulneſſe to God as the Author, ſo to you as his inſtruments) *what great things he hath done already by you*: In taking off burdens, in making Peace with *Scotland*, in a great deal of liberty enjoyed of Gods Ordinances by your means. But are you aſſured, that you have *all the way proceeded with that ſpirit of encouragement*, that theſe things ſhould have put into you?

3. But above all you cannot but be apprehenſive *how many things God had done againſt you*, even againſt You *as a Body*: In the

the *Northern Army* that ſhould have been brought up againſt You; in the *Armed Troopes* at your dores; in withdrawing the *Kings preſence, and Heart* from You; in all the *aſperſions* caſt upon you; in the warre raiſed againſt you; and your *diſappointment* of ſeeing it ended long agoe, even before it was begun; in all your *Propoſitions of Treatses* refuſed; in the late *horrid conſpiracy* againſt You. All this, not *man* only, but *God* hath done againſt You. *And wherefore?* I am far from ſaying, from thinking, *that it is not for my ſins*, and all the reſt of ours, the people of the Land. (Oh that our hearts could weep and bleed for it as we ought!) I know and acknowledge, they are *our ſins*, that are puniſhed, if you have failed or ſhall faile in any thing. But yet as often as there is *failings in you*, God would have *even you to be humbled* for them. It was *Iſraels ſin*, that provoked God to let *Satan* tempt *David* to number the People. Yet it was *Davids ſin* to number them. And he *humbled himſelf* greatly for it, when he was warned of it by the Prophet. It is the *feets* catching cold oft times that cauſes the *Head-ache*, and the Rheume in *the eyes*; yet when it is ſo, the *Head* takes ſomewhat to *purge* it ſelfe, and *cure the eyes*. Conſider, I beſeech you, *whether ever God did any ſuch thing to any ſervants of His in Authority, they continuing ſteadily faithfull.* I know *Moſes* ſuffered much *reproach*, and was often endangered by the *peoples* rebelling againſt him. But God *inſtantly* ſtill pleaded his cauſe, and ended all. Alſo, ſo long as *David* kept his integrity, he never had any *defeat*, in any battell; nor did *any Enemy prevail ſo as to diſtreſſe him* at any time: But after his *great faults*, and Gods heavy *threatning* upon it; he had divers *ſore ſhakings*, ſpecially by *Abſoloms* conſpiracy, driving him almoſt out of his Kingdome. And ſo *Solomon* while he kept cloſe to God, had no Adverſary *at home or abroad*: But after his wives turning away his heart, to countenance (at leaſt) their Idols, he had more then one, that *lifted up their hands* againſt him. Think now how much your *Adverſaries* and their *Succeſſes* call you to an enquiry among your ſelves, *why God ſhould let them attempt and prevail ſo far againſt you?* If you ſhall find any thing amiſſe among your ſelves, it wil be no wonder; the faithfulleſt men have had their failings. *Jacob* forgot his vow at *Bethel* a long while, till a great *ſcandall* in his Family, and a fearfull *outrage* of his ſons upon it, and *danger* there-

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to perſwade, and inculcate the conſtant practiſe of this publike acknowledgement, and deep humiliation] Let me take leave to diſcharge my conſcience in a humble *trembling* repreſentation to that high Authority, that hath required my ſervice this day, of the fitneſſe of their taking into conſideration, *What humiliation is*, or may be *required of them as a Body?* Comming hither as the heads of our ſeverall Tribes, and Elders of our Cities? You had at the firſt, beſides your own perſonall ſins, the ſins of the Nation, whom you repreſent, and of former Parliaments, whom you ſucceed, to be humbled for, namely ſuch, and ſo many, as you did, or could take notice of. But you had not then any actions of your own, as a joynt body, to conſider, whether there were any failings in you; as now after many dayes, and moneths, even ſome years ſitting together you have. And it is, *at leaſt poſſible*, that you may finde failings in ſome things, in ſo long time, and ſo many buſineſſes. Your enemies and the Churches charge you with enough, with multitudes. I dare not ſecond them, nor abett any of their virulent reproaches. But doubtleſſe it is poſſible, you may have had failings, of ſome kinde or other. Conſider then, I beſeech you, in the Name and preſence *of the great God*, before whom you are come as a Body this day, to humble your ſelves, and afflict your ſouls, whether there be not ſomewhat to be ſought out among you, for which you are all joyntly as a Body to be humbled.

You cannot but remember, 1. *What great things God hath done for you*, Above all Parliaments, ever ſince any were. I ſhall have occaſion to touch ſome of them anon. *Do your conſciences* now think, *that as a Parliamentary Body*, you have fully anſwered all his favours hitherto?

2. Alſo you cannot but remember (and we alſo ever muſt, as with thankfulneſſe to God as the Author, ſo to you as his inſtruments) *what great things he hath done already by you*: In taking off burdens, in making Peace with *Scotland*, in a great deal of liberty enjoyed of Gods Ordinances by your means. But are you aſſured, that you have *all the way proceeded with that ſpirit of encouragement*, that theſe things ſhould have put into you?

3. But above all you cannot but be apprehenſive *how many things God had done againſt you*, even againſt You *as a Body*: In the

the *Northern Army* that ſhould have been brought up againſt You; in the *Armed Troopes* at your dores; in withdrawing the *Kings preſence, and Heart* from You; in all the *aſperſions* caſt upon you; in the warre raiſed againſt you; and your *diſappointment* of ſeeing it ended long agoe, even before it was begun; in all your *Propoſitions of Treaties* refuſed; in the late *horrid conſpiracy* againſt You. All this, not *man* only, but *God* hath done againſt You. *And wherefore?* I am far from ſaying, from thinking, *that it is not for my ſins*, and all the reſt of ours, the people of the Land. (Oh that our hearts could weep and bleed for it as we ought!) I know and acknowledge, they are *our ſins*, that are puniſhed, if you have failed or ſhall faile in any thing. But yet as often as there is *failings in you*, God would have *even you to be humbled* for them. It was *Iſraels ſin*, that provoked God to let *Satan* tempt *David* to number the People. Yet it was *Davids ſin* to number them. And he *humbled himſelf* greatly for it, when he was warned of it by the Prophet. It is the *feets* catching cold oft times that cauſes the *Head-ache*, and the Rheume in *the eyes*; yet when it is ſo, the *Head* takes ſomewhat to *purge* it ſelfe, and *cure the eyes*. Conſider, I beſeech you, *whether ever God did any ſuch thing to any ſervants of His in Authority, they continuing ſteadily faithfull.* I know *Moſes* ſuffered much *reproach*, and was often endangered by the *peoples* rebelling againſt him. But God *inſtantly* ſtill pleaded his cauſe, and ended all. Alſo, ſo long as *David* kept his integrity, he never had any *defeat*, in any battell; nor did *any Enemy prevail ſo as to diſtreſſe him* at any time: But after his *great faults*, and Gods heavy *threatning* upon it; he had divers *ſore ſhakings*, ſpecially by *Abſoloms* conſpiracy, driving him almoſt out of his Kingdome. And ſo *Solomon* while he kept cloſe to God, had no Adverſary *at home or abroad*: But after his wives turning away his heart, to countenance (at leaſt) their Idols, he had more then one, that *lifted up their hands* againſt him. Think now how much your *Adverſaries* and their *Succeſſes* call you to an enquiry among your ſelves, *why God ſhould let them attempt and prevail ſo far againſt you?* If you ſhall find any thing amiſſe among your ſelves, it wil be no wonder; the faithfulleſt men have had their failings. *Jacob* forgot his vow at *Bethel* a long while, till a great *ſcandall* in his Family, and a fearfull *outrage* of his ſons upon it, and *danger* there-

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thereupon to them all, and *Gods Admonition* after all, brought it to his remembrance; and then upon ſearch, he found *Idols* too, that he before took no notice of, or at leaſt winkt at. So, *David* failed in the manner of *bringing up the Ark*, (and the Prieſts, Levites, and Elders of the people were in the ſame errour with him;) and recovered not himſelf to ſee where the fault was in *three moneths*: And afterward he abidde *three yeeres famine*, yeere after yeere, *before he enquired* of the Lord the cauſe of it, who thereupon told him it was for an *Oath broken*, and *Innocent blond ſhed*; For which God would now have *Juſtice* done upon the poſterity of the offender. Alſo *Zerubbabel* and all the Elders of the Jews (as was noted before) failed not a little in ſo long *neglecting* to ſet about *the building of the Temple*, even though God the while ſent divers judgements upon all the Nation for it. All theſe inſtances ſtill make it the more neceſſary to have this ſeriouſly laid to your hearts, that God may have the glory he looks for from you, and that whatſoever you can find amiſſe, you may the more zealouſly ſet your ſelves to make him (not *ſatisfaction*, which Jeſus Chriſt only can; and hath done ſufficiently, but) ſuch *amends* as poor creatures and his faithfull ſervants are by his grace enabled unto. And now may I preſume one ſtep or two farther? To propound according to the ſubject of my text, that it is ſpecially requiſite, that you conſider, *whether you have done your utmoſt for the help of the Church in this ſad time of her danger and diſtreſſe?* I ſhall anon ſhew, how great hopes there are, that you are the men whom God intends to uſe as his great inſtruments in this happy work; theſe thoughts will prepare you for it. Therefore let me moſt humbly offer a double queſtion in two words, concerning the *execution of Juſtice* upon the Churches enemies, and the *haſtning* and effectuall advancing *of the buſineſſes* of Religion. 1. *Have not notorious offenders*, I mean Idolatrous, Traiterous Prieſts, *even after reaſons urged by you for their execution, and delivery of them up into your hands, been in fine ſpared?* For which their party hath well requited you ever ſince; and ſo have others too, for all your gentleneſſe to many deſperate Delinquents, who have been your priſoners. 2. For the other, *Was there not a time, when nothing you asked was denyed you?* Might not *ſomewhat* in that advantage of opportunity, *been ob-*

1 Chro. 13. 15.

2 Sam 21.

tained

tained for Religion, which hath not been, and which would have kept the *wheeles* going ever ſince, that have *long ſtood ſtill* for want of it? And ſince that ſeaſon, *was it not morally poſſible to have ſpeeded ſome things more then they have been?* I know, I am not able to fathome the depths of your Buſineſſes, and Hindrances, which have been apparently very many: Therefore I take not upon me, ſo much to be a *reprover*, as a *remembrancer*. Yer even the former, could I know things as well as your ſelves do (or may, by *reviewing your journalls*) my Office would not onely *bear me out* in, but even *require of me*, as the Caſe may be. We have long, and too juſtly complained of *Princes being flattered*, by them that leaſt ſhould, and how much we and they have been *undone* by it. Let it, I beſeech you, be *your glory* (and God will make it ſo) that *you had rather be twice admoniſht*, even without cauſe, then *to want it once*, when there is juſt cauſe. And ſo I leave this Adviſe, with one word of addition. *Application, Uſe 2.*

That if ever after this day, God ſhould (which if we all ſeek him as we ſhould, even this day, I hope he never will) *ſend you and us, any affrighting tidings*; As we all muſt, each one for themſelves in particular; ſo *you would*, both for all us, and for your ſelves ſeverally, and *joyntly as a Body, make diligent inquiry, what is Gods meaning in it?* What ſins they are, that have provoked him ſo againſt us, and you: *and accordingly ſee and practiſe, each one*, their duties upon it. Obſerve this ſpecially.

And ſo I paſſe to the third Uſe, which is of *Exhortation, to all and every one, to reſolve and practiſe from hence-forward, the utmoſt poſſible for the Churches help, endeavouring all, venturing all, to this end, both againſt ſins, and dangers of enemies.* Taking in for *Motives*, and to anſwer all *Objections*, the Text, Doctrines, and Reaſons, foregoing, and following, together with the *Proteſtation*, made two years ago, and the *late Covenant*, and for *Means*, (namely againſt ſin in ſpeciall) *the Aſſembly called*. There is not any *Duty*, and way of *help*, generall, or particular, that any hath been *backward* to ſet upon, or can be *tempted* to neglect, but upon the grounds laid, I durſt undertake to convince, of the neceſſity of doing the utmoſt, even for *our own ſakes*, as well *as the Churches*. And without me, if any will deal faithfully with themſelves, and apply things home to their own hearts, each *Uſe. 3.* Exhortation to help the Church by all wayes poſſible.

Application. will not fail to perſwade themſelves to all things that come within their compaſſe. This therefore I earneſtly exhort all to do, now and hereafter, whiles I apply my ſpeech particularly at this time unto thoſe, upon whom this work lies principally, becauſe they have the Power and Authority in their hands: *Our Senatours*, of the honourable Parliament.

Uſe. 3. Exhort to help the Church all wayes poſſible. Speciall Exhortation to the Parliamẽt.

Let me beſeech you, Honourable and Worthy, to *remember all* that you have heard of the neceſſity of helping the Church, that it may *provoke you*, and prevail with you, to put to *all your ſtrength*, and even *venture all things*, that you may *effectually help* the Church, particularly againſt the *cauſe* of all her dangers, *ſinne*. And herein, not by way of *excluſion* of other matters, but of *ſpecification* of ſome main things to be looked to; Let me name ſome particulars to you.

To help againſt ſin.

1. Baniſh Idolatry.

1. *The baniſhment of idolatry wholly, and for ever.* Never reckon upon the Churches ſafety, or the Nations, while any ſuch *treaſon* againſt God, is ſo much as winkt at in this Kingdom. So farre as you do not the *utmoſt poſſible* in this, I muſt tell you, you are & will be *greatly wanting* to the Churches help. And never *fear the provoking* of any perſons, or multitudes, at home, or abroad, by your faithfulneſſe to God and the Church herein. For beleeve it, you will run *a thouſand times worſe hazard* by ſuffering them, as experience for the preſent, beſides all other things may teach you; ſhew therefore your *indignation* againſt all the reliques and *objects*, and practiſers of it, in all places within your reach, as you have *happily* already *begun* to do in ſome. And manifeſt your *zeal* and *wiſdome*, in preparing ſuch Laws, againſt that curſed practiſe for the time to come, *As all the Nation may hear and fear, and do no more ſo wickedly*, Deut. 13. 11. and ſecure *the children* that are growing up.

2. Diſpell ignorance.

2. *Diſpell ignorance.* We are undone by this miſt of infection, ſpecially in the Countrey. In the Name therefore of *Jeſus Chriſt, who will come in flaming fire, taking vengeance on them that know not God*, 2 Theſſ. 1. 7, 8. In the name of *millions of ſouls*, throughout the Kingdom, (of many even in my Congregation) whom this *black Devill* poſſeſſes, and who cried out, as he, *Mat.* 8. 29. that we *torment them*, when we offer but any endeavour for their diſpoſſeſſion; and which no means in the world (according

cording to Man) can cure, *without your effectuall help:* And in the name of all the *faithfull Miniſters* of the Kingdome; who preach to *ſtocks and ſtones in the likeneſſe of men*; I cry out unto you, unto you this day, for *help, help, effectuall help.* I name nothing particular now becauſe of the *Aſſembly*, elſe I had rather have ſpent my whole time upon this one argument, then to have paſt it over ſo briefly. *Application. Uſe 3.* Exhort to help againſt ſins.

3. *Conjure down the atheiſticall Devil*; the impudent ſcorner of godlineſſe and conſcience. Make every word of that kind a greater *reproach to the Speaker*, then he can intend it to the *perſon ſpoken againſt*. Make it an *action of the caſe*, to reproach any with a *Nickname* for their conſcientiouſneſſe to God; and let ſuch pay good *dammages* and full *coſts* ſpeedily, or any other way whereby it may be more effectually done. And till then, know for a certainty, that that *direfull threatning* will hang over the Land which is recorded, *Jer. 23. for one kinde of reproach* againſt the Prophets of God, *ver. 33. to the end*, and it will utterly drown us in deſtruction when ever it fals. Alſo without a law of this Nature, let me aſſure you, that make what ever Reformation you will or can, it will prove in the iſſue (and even within a very little while I doubt) but as a wall *dawbed with untempered morter* and crumble all to nothing, and the Church can never be *helped* while her *glory* is made her *ſhame*, and ſuffered to be ſo. 3. Conjure down the Atheiſtical Devill.

4. *Cure Superſtition.* There are more tainted with it then you can eaſily imagine; and it is bred and nouriſht, by every thing that is *cuſtomary*, (ſpecially among thoſe that are not thoroughly inſtructed) and chiefly by any *meer humane ordinance*, (though uſefull being rightly uſed) when once any *ſpeciall weight* comes to be put upon the meer *uſing* it. And while a *root of ſuperſtition* is nouriſht in men, *Idolatry* will ſoon be *graffed* upon it with a little help. Beſides that a *little of this leaven* will *greatly ſowr Mens Conſciences*, and in ſtead of the *power of godlineſſe* leave nothing but a *Form*. I may not amplify this; but I hope it will be conſidered and conſulted of. 4. Cure Superſtition.

5. *Make all men feare an Oath:* [1] by a more ready and certain penalty for *raſh ſwearing*; [2] by taking away *unneceſſary* Oaths. My ſoul bleſſes you, bleſſes God for you, for the taking away the *Oath of Churchwardens* as well as that *Ex Officio*, and the late 5. Make all fear an Oath.

Application Vſe 3. Exhort to help againſt ſins.

Canonicall Oath. Oh doe the like to other Officers, and in Univerſities, and Corporations, and Courts, by cauſing a *review* to be made what Oathes are *unneceſſary*, and how the uſe of them may be other wayes ſupplyed. [1] And what Oathes you ſee neceſſary to be continued or added; *make them dreadfull.* Let them be adminiſtred ever in an *awfull manner*, that they may conſider what they doe, when they pawn their ſouls and all things elſe; that they ſpeak truth and will doe as they ſay. [2] *And let no ignorant perſon be truſted to ſwear, more then a childe.* But of that a word more anon. I will uſe no other motive then that one, *Jer.* 23. 10. *Becauſe of ſwearing the Land mourneth: the pleaſant places of the wilderneſſe are dryed up, and their courſe is evill, and their force is not right.* So that you do not help the Church if you remedy not this, what you can; if you did all things elſe.

6. Make a law for Preaching.

6. *Make a Law for preaching.* There was never any yet, that I could ever hear of in this Kingdome ſince the Reformation, which is *ſuch a prodigy*, ſuch a peece of *Laodicean Lukewarmneſſe*, as I beleeve the like was never heard of, in a *Reformed Chriſtian* Kingdom or Church; *unleſſe Ireland perhaps too.* What the effects have been of the want of it, all the world ſees; And to me it ſounds among the worſt of *Omens*, that I have heard of ſome *diſputing againſt* ſuch a law. I will ſay but this: 1. If God have not had *diſhonour enough*, by ſome mens preaching againſt Preaching, becauſe our Law commanded it not; and by all the *reproach* caſt upon his faithfulleſt Miniſters for their *double diligence*, which hath alſo been *prohibited* thē by thoſe that ought to have *promoted* it; And [3] if the people of God have not by this been *ſufficiently ſcattered* abroad as *ſheep without a Shepheard*; and torn by *dogs* for ſeeking their *food* abroad when they had none *provided for them at home*; And [4] if enough have not *gone to hell*, under *unpreaching Miniſters*, in more then eighty yeares: And [5] finally, if God have not put *more weight* upon this *one ordinance* under the N. T. then *all other Miniſteriall works together:* to teach all that have Authority under him to doe the like; to make them *beſhrew* themſelves *that preach not the Goſpel*; Then let there be ſtill no law to enjoyn it, nor for any thing elſe belonging to the worſhip of God, and mans ſalvation by as good reaſon. But *if all be contrary*, then once more let me call to *Humiliation*, for this neg-

neglect theſe eighty yeares and upward; and promiſe my ſelfe, that a *Reforming Parliament* will not, *cannot but compoſe ſuch a Law* as ſhall be abundantly ſufficient for ever hereafter. *Application. Uſe* 3. Exhort to help againſt ſins.

7. *Make Simony impoſſible.* To ſwear the *Clerk*, is to ſwear the *buyer* to prevent a *dearth:* It is to forbid thoſe that *fear an Oath*, and ſet open the door to thoſe that *dare be wilfully falſe.* And the preſent *penalties* of the ſtatute, doe ſeldome reach *cunning chapmen.* This I will be bold to ſay, if every Miniſter that hath the *charge* of ſoules, and *diſcharges* that duty conſcionably, *be not worthy of all that due*, which the law any where allowes him; *take it away in Gods name*, and employ it to a better uſe, if you *can* find it out. But if he be worthy of it, by the ſentence of God and man both, a *high way-robber*, or one that *breaks into a houſe* at midnight, is not ſo *great an offendor*, as a *Simoniacall Patron*, (whether he preſents a man otherwiſe worthy, or one that is altogether unworthy) and if you make not as *ſufficient a law* againſt the one as the other, (I ſay not for the *penalty*, but which may be as *effectuall* or rather more, and ſo it may be, I durſt undertake) you will no more *anſwer it to God*, then if you made not a ſufficient law *againſt thoſe outrages*, if there were none. 7. Make Simony impoſſible.

8. *Make Clandeſtine Marriages impoſſible.* They are ſo in the Reformed Churches in France; they may be ſo here, when the King and you pleaſe. It is *meer humane law*, the common law among us, (not Gods law) that calls it a *marriage*, if two be joyned by a Miniſter, (a *Popiſh Prieſt* hath ſerved the turne) in any *houſe* or room, or *place*, and at *midnight* or any time, if with ſuch and ſuch words. Why is ſuch a *wilde Authority* given, to robbe Parents of their children, and Maſters of their Apprentices, and children of themſelves, againſt *Gods expreſſe word?* and no *Penalty* that I know of in our law, upon *ſuch a Miniſter*, or *ſuch Parties.* How many *Noble Families*, beſides others, have been by this *Licence* (and that which hath been next door to it in uſe, the *Licences of Eccleſiaſticall Courts*, which laſt to this day where *ſuch diſobedient children* will goe ſeek them) *ſhamed* and grieved and *miſchiefed?* This may be remedied inſtantly, *if the law ratify no marriage, but Publike, after Banes, with Parents or guardians conſent*, or ſome higher Power, if they ſhould be *Tyrannicall* and altogether *unreaſonable.* I am amazed, that the *Gentry* having 8. Make Clandeſtine marriages impoſſible.

Application. ving ſo ſmarted by this licence to their children to be *diſobedient*, have not long ſince *in Parliament*, taken an order for it. But I hope, God hath raiſed up *you* at laſt, to do him *this piece of ſervice*, among a great many others.

Vſe 3. Exhort to help againſt ſin.

Sundry particulars briefly mentioned.

I may not enlarge my ſelf upon any more particulars. I will ſum up all the reſidue that I have thought of, in almoſt as few words as there be matters.

9. 9. *Keep all the holy Ordinances of God from prophanation*,: the Word *read* and preacht, prayer, ſinging, Sacraments, puniſhing *ſleepers*, and all other *rude* perſons.

10. 10. *Secure the Lords day fully*, from *working*, and *playing*, and *buying*, or *ſelling*, and as much as may be, from *apparent idleneſſe*.

11. 11. *Encourage a faithfull Miniſtery*, particularly with ſufficient maintenance for *wives and children*.

12. 12. *Secure youth* in the Univerſities, and Schools, *with the utmoſt of care*; and even in *Parents houſes*, what you can, ſpecially *the poorer* ſort. The young ones are the *hopes* or the *bane* of the Church and State *in the next* 20, or 10. or 7. *years*.

13. 13. *Repreſſe drunkenneſſe*, by a *better compoſed Law* then any yet is extant, and the haunting of the ſhops of that wickedneſſe.

14. 14. *Suppreſſe altogether*, (and not onely for this time of our calamity) *that trade of nothing but infection*, Players.

15. 15. *Caſt more ſhame and wrath* upon *whoredome*, and adultery *ſpecially*.

16. 16. *Prevent all oppreſſion, injuſtice, fraud*, to the utmoſt of your powers.

17. 17. Finally, *Set your ſelves*, generally, *to frame ſuch Laws*, as may make ſinners *ſooneſt weary of ſin*, and Governours able to *yoke them with the moſt eaſe* that can be conceived.

And *for all this*, let me again remember you, of your late *ſolemn, and ſacred Vow and Covenant*, both in reference to your ſelves, and to the Kingdom. Firſt, as it relates to your ſelves; You declare, [*That in humility and reverence of the Divine Majeſty, —— Your true intent is, to endeavour by Gods grace, the amendment of your own wayes.*] Let theſe words, I beſeech you, be ever before your *eyes*, and upon your *heart*; and let all that hear or ſee you, read them in your *language*, and in your *lives*;

So

So ſhall you greatly *help* the Church by your *holy Example*, while withall, you cannot then finde in your hearts, but to afford *all other poſſible help*, with your *joynt Authority*. Beſides all *former ties* of Duty, your own *voluntary obligation* in this Covenant, is ever to be thought on, as a *moſt mighty engagement*. And therefore, as you look that *any benefit* ſhall come to you, by *others keeping their Covenant* (which you call them to) particularly, for *your help and protection*, without which you know, according to man, you muſt be loſt: But ſpecially, as you look *God ſhould help you*, unto whom you have, before all the world, made ſo ſolemn an Appeal, and *without whoſe help*, you know, *you muſt* infallibly *periſh*; ſo be *true to this your Covenant* every way, *as men*, as Chriſtian men, as *Parliament men*. So you are, and ſo in *point of honour and reſpect* you would have men look upon you, and God *in point of protection*. You muſt then, (God and men do, and will look for it) *carry your ſelves* ſo, for all good. If any ſhall offer to ſay, *they meant nothing* in this clauſe of the Covenant, *but in reference onely to their perſonall cariage*, and not any way concerning matters of *publike reformation*; I would onely put this *dilemma* to him. Either he hath done well or ill as a Parliament-man, and toward reformation hitherto. *If he have done well*, doubtleſſe he that promiſes to amend in other things, (becauſe his and the Nations ſins *deſerve the judgments that lie upon us*, as the Covenant ſpeaks) cannot but even thereby be engaged to *perſevere* in all good for reformation, and to *proceed* further in it, as farre as is *neceſſary*, as the greateſt matter of *importance* of all other, and moſt for the Churches help. *If he have done ill*, then certainly, as that is *part of his ſins*, for which the judgments are deſerved and inflicted, ſo can it not but be a *part of that which he hath directly covenanted* to endeavour the amendment of, as being among the *worſt of his wayes*, needing amendment. Thus, Beloved, *God hath hold on you* every way. And happy is that man, that is *willing to be held* by God, and to God, that willingly *engages himſelf* to him.

Application. Uſe 3.

Exhort to help the Church according to the late Covenant.

Relating ſpecially to the Parliament.

Now as your *Covenant* calls in the Kingdom, to a like vow; as I muſt needs *bleſſe God* for it, in regard of the good it will do, I hope, in *divers*, who will be carefull to keep it in a faithfull endeavour, to *amend their own wayes as they promiſe*: So in regard

Application. *Vſe* 3. Exhort to help the Church according to the late Covenant. Relating to the Kingdom.

gard of the *wofull ignorance*, foreſpoken of, which is ſpecially among our Countrey people, I muſt needs confeſſe, *my heart trembles to think, in what a faſhion they will take it.* Not at all regarding the matter of it, but *meerly like brutes*, follow the Herd, do *as their neighbours* do; *take* it, or *refuſe* it, do *ſomething*, or *nothing* for your protection, howſoever, *as they ſee them do.* But ſpecially for this part, *of amendment of their wayes*, what poſſibility is there, that they can or will be *one jot the better* for their Vow and Covenant, when they *know* nothing of God, and ſo *regard* nothing of God, no more then thoſe *that never heard* of him?

Speedily to conſult with the Aſſembly, for ſome remedy of Ignorance.

Oh then that you would be pleaſed to *conſult with the Aſſembly*, and that without delay, *among your firſt Propoſitions*, what courſe is poſſible to be taken, ſpeedily to put *ſome knowledge* into thoſe, who elſe, while you are conſulting of *other matters firſt*, will by *hundreds*, and perhaps by *thouſands*, die in one part or other of the Kingdom, and ſo *go to hell irrecoverably.* I beſeech you in the bowels of *Jeſus Chriſt*, and for loves-ſake to poor ſouls, *conſider and do it.*

Improve the Aſſembly.

Laſt of all in this Uſe, Let me recommend to you, *a full improvement of the Aſſembly*, now at laſt happily *called*, and I hope, *intended* by God for a ſpeciall *bleſſing* to us all, and *you* too. To which end, let me in few words make an *humble Motion* or two unto you. One is, *That you will be pleaſed to make the plaiſter as wide as the ſore.* The Church hath many *wounds* and grievances. You have received many *Petitions* in writing, *requeſts* in Sermons. *Satisfie* them all, I beſeech you, ſo farre, as to *conſult* of them, and of what ever elſe may be neceſſary to a perfect *healing*. You need not fear us, who can *conclude* nothing; neither do we *affect* it. You have the *Law* in your own hands, to *conſent*, and *ordain*, as you ſhall ſee cauſe.

1. By propounding all things to them that are the Churches grievances.

2. By engaging the Miniſters to keep to Gods word.

2. That you may be the more aſſured, we do mean nothing, and ſhall ſpeak nothing but faithfully, I humbly wiſh, a *profeſſion*, or *promiſe*, or *vow*, (or call it what you will) to be made *by all us Miniſters*, in the preſence of God, to this effect; *That we ſhall propound nothing, nor conſent, nor oppoſe, but what we are perſwaded is moſt agreeable to the word of God; and will renounce any preconceived Opinion, if we ſhall be convinced that the Word of God is otherwiſe.*

wise. So shall we all seek Christ, and not our selves, nor sidings, and Gods truth, and not victory or glory, to our selves. *Application.*

3. Finally, that at least before the *dissolution* of the Assembly, there may be liberty given to *Petition* the discussing of any thing that may possibly have been *omitted* all the while, and not at all *propounded*, by either of the Houses, and yet be fit to be *considered* of. That so *all the work* may be accomplished in Gods due time, by the grace of *Jesus Christ*, and assistance of *his Holy Spirit* to his glory, and his Churches most effectuall help.

Exhort to help the Church by forwarding the Assembly.

3. By a liberty of Petition to discusse any thing omitted.

And so I have done also with this Use of *Exhortation*, and with my *Application* of all those *Points* which have been already handled. There are yet behinde two *other Points*, which are the *comfortablest* part of the Text, and therefore I hope they will be of all the rest, the least *wearisome*; and yet I trust withall *happily profitable*, and helping to make all the rest so.

The 1. of them, (which was the fourth in the *first nomination*, but now comes to be the fift in *order of handling*) is this;

[*Though those who are most hopefull to be instruments of the Churches help, fail her in time of need, yet deliverance shall not fail her, some way or other, according to Gods promises.*] *Doct.* 5.

This is peremptorily affirmed of the Church of God at that time, by *Mordecai*. And the Reason was, There was an *undeniable Promise* yet remaining to be fulfilled to the people of the *Jews*, which was plainly, *the Messiah*, Christ, the Lord and King of the Church, *was to be born of that stock, of the Tribe of Judah, and Family of David.* The Church was then great of that blessed Birth. And as the severest Justice among men, uses to spare the mother for the fruits sake, *if shee be known to be with childe, when condemned*, till her delivery: So much more was it infallibly certain, that *no condemnation* should destroy this *blessed* promised *Fruit*, by destroying the *Mother* before his birth. In like sort, though the *promise* be of an *inferiour* degree, yet whatever *promise* there is to be fulfilled unto the *Church*, or any *part* or member of it, shall be a sufficient *supersedeas*, or *reprieve* from any *destruction*, though all *the World* should *swear* the contrary, and therefore, much more *though the most hopefull* Instruments should *fail* her in time of need. The Reasons briefly are;

Who ever fails the Church, Gods promised help fails not.

Grounded on Text.

Confirmed by Reason.

Doct. 5. *Reason* 1. All Gods words are pure words.

1. *All Gods words are pure words, Pſal.* 12. 6. *As ſilver tryed in a Furnace of Earth purifyed ſeven times.* They are altogether pure, and no *droſſe* at all in them, firſt nor laſt. God *meant* them *Faithfully* to the *utmoſt* extent of them, for *Things*, Perſons, *ſubſtance*, Circumſtance, *Time*, *Place* and all; and will accordingly always hold to them *unchangeably*. And this ſentence is the more ſtrongly applyed to the Doctrin, becauſe *Pſal* 12. begins with the complaint of *mens failing*; and yet after inſerting a *promiſe* of Gods taking part with his ſervants, this is added for aſſurance, *The words of the Lord are pure words, &c.* And it muſt needs be ſo, For alſo —

Reaſon 2. He can create Deliverance by an Almighty power.

2. *His Power is Almighty.* He can create *meanes*, create *Deliverance* without means, make the *leaſt* unlikelieſt, *moſt contrary* things, *meanes* to effect it. The Scripture abounds with expreſſions and inſtances to this purpoſe in the Prophets and holy ſtories. I cannot ſtand now to particularize them.

Reaſon 3. His love is not weakned, by others failings.

3. It was his *love*, not his *weakneſſe*, that made him command *others to help* his Church; and therefore *their neglect* ſhall not, cannot weaken *his love*, but rather glorify it. *He ſaw that there was no man, and wondred that there was no interceſſour. Therefore his own arme brought ſalvation to him, and his righteouſneſſe it ſuſtained him*, &c. *Eſay* 59 16. and then by and by, *v.* 20. *And the Redeemer ſhall come to Zion, and unto them that turn from tranſgreſſion, ſaith the Lord*, The thing then is ſure, where ever there is a *promiſe*.

Uſe. Enquiry after a promiſe for our Church in this Nation.

Now for the improvement of this point to our benefit. The main uſe and work muſt be to make enquiry, *whether there be any ſuch promiſe of deliverance made to our Church and Nation, as may give us any aſſurance that what ever this or that man doth, or whoever failes the Church, in her time of danger and diſtreſſe, yet Deliverance ſhall not faile her, but God will raiſe it up ſome way or other.*

To reſolve this moſt important queſtion, let me firſt clearly *ſtate it*, and then propound ſuch *grounds* as may give ſome *light* what to build upon concerning it.

The queſtion ſtated. 1 Negatively.

Firſt then the queſtion is not, whether the enemies of the Church may not *yet prevail upon us further* then they have hitherto. 2. Nor yet whether they may not *ſo farre prevaile*, as for a time, to *ſuppoſe* themſelves *abſolute Conquerours*; and many of

Gods

Gods people to think *themselves* wholly *overcome*, and think the *Church* in this *Nation* to be *altogether past recovery* againe. *Doct. 5. Application.*

3. Nor yet, whether in *the next generation*, when we have enjoyed and *abused* a Reformation, and Peace for *some yeeres*, there may not be *such a revolt* from the truth and prevailing of enemies, as that *Popery* should *again* get the upper hand among us, and establish it selfe fully for as *long a time*, for divers years. Enquiry after a promise for our Church in this Nation.

4. But in brief the question is, *Whether the present dangers of the Church, shall end* in such a Conquest of the enemies over our Religion in this Nation, by killing many, and driving away the rest, *as to reduce us to the condition of Italy or Spain*; so as for *many yeers* together there shall be no *shew* or sign of any *number* of the true Religion? *or whether they shall end at last, in a peacefull and happy Reformation?* 2 Positively.

Now to this I give a twofold answer. 1. That I grant we have *no such promise* to our Church of *England*, as the people of the *Jewes* were in *possession* of at this time that the text speaks of, and ever before Christ was born; which yet was to them not as *inhabitants* of that land, of *Canaan*, but as to the stock of *Abraham*, *Isaac* and *Iacob*. No Nation or *Inhabitants* of any land or *stock of the Gentiles*, having any such promises, that the Church of God should not be destroyed and cease among them. Answered partly Negatively. No such promise as the Jews had.

2. Yet for all that I am perswaded and *doe believe, and therefore have I spoken* and doe speak, that there is a *sufficient promise for us English men at this time, that the Church of God in England shall not be so destroyed or rooted out, as that the true Religion and all the faithfull Professours should be dead and buried, as the effects of this present warre.* But contrarily, that such a Deliverance shall come, as that this Church in the issue of these present troubles, shall get the upper hand, and enjoy a blessed Reformation. Positively, yet a sufficient promise at this time.

My grounds are these. 1. Though we have not a *Formall* promise of Deliverance, yet we may have (and have as I conceive) a *Virtuall*, and though not a plain *verball* one, yet a *reall*. Grounds.

2. When we have an *example* of Deliverance vouchsafed to others, *very like to us* in condition; I take it to be a *Virtuall Promise* of like favour to our selves. So much faith *Naamans* little maid had, that because *Elisha* had done many *miracles*, he could and would cure her Master of his *Leprosie*, 2 *Kings* 5. 3. (even By example particular.

Doct. 5. Application. Enquiry after a promiſe for our Church.

though he *never had cured* any of that particular diſeaſe of the Leproſie, which is moſt remarkably inſinuated, *Luke* 4. 20.) And doubtleſſe Chriſts curing the *woman of the bloody iſſue*, was by him meant as a *virtuall* promiſe, that he would revive *Jairus daughter*, *Mark* 5. Indeed, becauſe diverſity in the perſons may very much vary the caſe, therefore *examples* are in the *loweſt degree* of virtuall promiſes, and yet they are not *nothing*, Accordingly, it is not *nothing*, that God in a *very like caſe* (liker then either of thoſe now noted) hath granted deliverance to *Scotland*. It is, at leaſt *probable*, that he meant that, as a *virtuall* promiſe to *England*.

3. No Church more ſeverely dealt with then the word expreſſes.

3. But I take it for a much *ſtronger* ground, and more undoubted; *That the word of God, in the Story, and in the threatnings together, hath an epitome of all that God will do to his Church, planted in any Nation.* And that God will never deal more ſeverely with any Nationall Church, then his Word (*which is every way moſt perfect*) relates or threatens. Therefore if it cannot be found in the Scripture, that God did *ever bring deſtruction upon his Church planted in a Nation*, or tranſplant his Church wholly out of ſuch a Land, *while they were in ſuch a condition as ours is*, then will he not do it now. But contrarily, if he hath *always*, in ſuch *a caſe* as ours is *now*, afforded his Church deliverance, this I beleeve to be a *very ſtrong promiſe*, that he will afford us the like now. *Logicians* ſay, that even one *example* of a thing, and *no inſtance* to the contrary, is a *ſufficient* argument. And if it hold not in *Scripture examples*, (when none of a divers kinde can be produced) I know not what uſe can be made of the *greateſt* examples of mercy, *as meer examples*, which yet were all *written for our learning*, (as all Scriptures are) *that we through patience and comfort of the Scriptures might have hope*, Rom. 15. 4.

4. A reforming Church never wholly tranſplanted.

4. In ſpeciall, *If God did never deſtroy a Reforming Nation, never wholly tranſplant a Reforming Church; then will he not do ſo to us, becauſe we are ſuch.* And for this there is ſpeciall Reaſon, whether we conſider the Reformation to be the *ſpeciall work of God, and little of the Nation in it*; as in *Joſiahs* time, God wrought it by a ſpeciall work upon the King, who ſaw all done *himſelf*, and the people ſhewed *little concurrence* in it; yet God would, and did carry it through. Becauſe he that loved the people ſo wel,

being

being yet corrupted, as to begin to reform them in a manner himself, when he had begun it once, would make *somewhat* of it, and not let it altogether come to *nothing*. Or whether God (though he ever be the Author and finisher of all good, yet) *act the reformation* much by the *peoples hands*, as it was in *Hezekiahs* Reformation, 2 *Chron.* 30. 1. Here again the same reason holds. He who loved the Nation so well, as to put such a *beginning* of grace into them; would not let that fail suddenly. But he made the work *prosper* in their hands, and no enemie hindred them.

Doct. 5. *Application.* Enquiry after a promise for our Church.

The grounds applied,

And now to apply this to our selves: 1. *If ever a Nation, or Church* in affliction and danger, were a *reforming Church and Nation*, we are such; and that in all the parts of Reformation. 1. For purity and clearnesse of truth of *Doctrine*. 2. Purity of *Worship*, freed from all superstitions and mans devices, and compleat in all the Ordinances of God 3. Purity of *Church government*, and *discipline*, according to the word and rule of Christ. 4. Purity of *life* and *conversation*. 5. Particularly, the *Sabbaths sanctification*, the greatest pledge of mercy to a Nation, and to ours experimentally in speciall, according to *Esay* 58. 13, 14. All this Reformation, *we apparently labour for in our Church*, and so are doubtlesse a reforming Church and Nation, and shall not be *destroyed at this time*.

1. We are a reforming Church in all parts of reformation.

2. All this is *striven* for, not simply for the *liberty of private persons*, that they may be free from persecution; but for the *glory of God*, and the saving of others *souls throughout the Nation*. Which disposition of his servants, *being much above all self-respects*, God doth highly esteem, and so will blesse it, with *prosperous successe* in the issue.

2. This laboured for, for all the Nation.

3. This Reformation, Gods servants have *striven* for, and *panted* after, Ministers and people, eighty years together, more or lesse; and have *appeared for it*, in a *considerable party*, though not joyned and *associated* as now, by the happy advantage of this Parliament; and have been *much persecuted*, even for it. And therefore now when God hath given them *to attempt further*, and with *more* hopes, and *greater* beginnings then ever before, He will not now, *at this time*, give them *wholly* over to enemies, to ruin all *utterly*.

3. Striven for above 80. years.

4. Enemies enmity against reformation specially.

4. The rather, because the *enmity of the enemies is specially provoked*

Doct. 5. Application. Enquiry for a promiſe for our Church.

voked, even by the deſire and attempt of Reformation, ſome in one point, ſome in another. They pretend (as was noted before) to fight for the *true reformed Proteſtant* Religion. But (except ſome eaſe about *Ceremonies* and the like *to tender conſciences*) they evidently *oppoſe any further* reformation then was in Queen *Elizabeths* time, and reproach the Parliament as intending to *alter Religion*, becauſe they profeſſe to purpoſe an endeavour of a *through reformation*. Therefore God will not take *his enemies* part againſt his people, but *his peoples* againſt his enemies, in the iſſue at leaſt, in giving them the *Reformation contended for*.

5. We have been his darling Church.

5. He hath ſhewed *a greater ſpirituall love to this Nation* for eighty years and more together, *then to any in the Chriſtian world*, in raiſing up ſo many *excellent Lights*, for *powerfull preaching*, and for *holineſſe* of life, above all other Churches, and given us above all others alſo, the *Doctrine* and *practiſe* of his holy *Sabbath*. And all this, notwithſtanding our *Nationall grievous provocations* fore-mentioned. Therefore when now the Nation is working *into the beſt* way of being *generally better*, he will not ſuffer them to become *now irrecoverably for continuance worſe*: But at leaſt, *this time*, *try* the whole Nation with a *generall Reformation*.

6. God hath himſelf given the hopes.

6. *Himſelf hath mainly and manifeſtly given the firſt hopes of this*, and raiſed up not the deſires onely, but the expectation of his ſervants, by wayes farre *beyond their contrivances*, and wonderfully *beyond their very thoughts*, ordered by himſelf. And namely, marvellous much by his very enemies plots and counſels, turned upon themſelves. As 1. *Their attempt againſt Religion and Liberties both together*; whereas if they had undertaken either alone, they never in likelihood had had any *conſiderable party* appearing againſt them, as now is by *uniting* the patriots and zealots both in one, and ſhewing to either, the *neceſſity* of ſuch union. 2. *In their attempt againſt the two Nations at once*, *England* and *Scotland*; ſo graſping at both, they could hold neither. 3. *Yet beginning firſt with Scotland, to impoſe Popiſh practiſes upon them the more manifeſtly, who were more impatient of Popery then our Nation was*; and ſo provoking them to ſtand upon their guard, & link themſelves ſuddenly in a *Nationall Covenant againſt them*, which alſo much weakned their *attempts upon us*.

Particularly, by turning enemies plots againſt themſelves 7. wayes.

4. Breaking

4. Breaking the *first Pacification with Scotland*, which forced them to *prevent* their being invaded, with comming with a powerfull Army into this Kingdom, and to *refuse* to be satisfied, without an *English* Parliament (our onely remedy too, under God) did ratifie the peace with them. 5. *Their frequent breakings of Parliaments*, rendring them justly suspected, that they meant so by this, as soon as the Peace was made; *counselled to urge the continuance* of this Parliament by a Law, (the onely possible means *for leisure* to reforme, as also *for legall power of defence* against them, if they should any more plots as now they have) and the two Armies in the Kingdom no way else to be payed, *forced the yeelding to it.* 6. Before this, *They raised Souldiers to go against Scotland*, who did *no other service*, in divers Countreys, but to begin to *pull down* their innovations, and *play the reformers*, with a strangely sober wildnesse. A *Preludium*, not to be neglected (though then it may be, no man imagined any such thing) that a *warre* must make *further way*, for a further *reformation.* 7. Their plottings, and *conspiracies*, and attempts against the Parliament; and rapines, and spoilings of *Countreys*, making the resolution for reformation appear the more *necessary*, and so become the *more strong.*

Doct. 5. Application. Enquiry of a promise for our Church.

From all which, my Conclusions are three. First, *This is indeed a time of Jacobs trouble, but he shall be delivered out of it.*

2. *The longer deliverance is delayed*, and the *lower we are brought*, before we obtain Reformation, the *greater* and more *glorious*, will the one and the other be, when the full time comes.

3. *Who ever abuses this to careless neglect, is like never to see it, or enjoy the good of it, but they and theirs to be destroyed*, according to the Text.

But I must answer an Objection or two. First, *Instead of a Reformation* (say some) *we see nothing but Deformation.* All in Confusion, our Reformers, unreformed in life and opinion, unbridled in their fancies, and wayes. Heresies, Schismes, and Libertinisme abound.

Object. 1.

This is the worst can be said; Yet may be satisfied divers wayes. 1. *It was ever so, when a Reformation was working:* So in *Luthers* time, so in the very Primitive Church, yet God carried on the work, and so he will now. 2. *Perhaps the cry is greater*

Answer. 1. 2.

Doct. 5. *greater then the cauſe.* The diſtractions of the time, leaving all at liberty, all appear in their worſt Poſture, (yet there are many ſober ſtill and pious undeniably) *and moſt of them will be ſoon quelled by a good diſcipline.* Theſe things are not long-lived, but when they are let alone. 3. *Their ſhewing themſelves, will make the Reformation more compleat.* Ill manners cauſing good Lawes.

Application. Enquiry after a promiſe for our Church.

3. 4. God ſeemes on purpoſe to *prolong the warre*, to cut off many, that would *abuſe a peace.*

Object. 2. The moſt earneſt for Reformation (ſay others) are ſo *divided* in opinions, as they will never *agree*, and ſo all will come to *nothing.*

Anſw. This is alſo a great grief and danger. But 1. *For this the Aſſembly* through Gods bleſſing, *may be*, and will be, *a happy remedy.* And whereas men object again, that alſo as unlikely; I

2. bid them, *Pray, pray, and not propheſie.* 2. Since *they all* (and all that pretend to Reformation) *profeſſe to hold to the Word*; when things come to be *debated by the Word*, there will, I doubt not, be found *more agreement* in the iſſue, then any one thought of before; or at leaſt, a *modeſt reſolution* not to diſturb the Churches Peace.

Object. 3. But what ſay you to the *killing of the two Witneſſes?* May not that be to come, and even now comming, and where is then your *confidence*, and the *promiſes* you talk of?

Anſw. 1. Whether the two Witneſſes be ſlain or not, I will not at

1. the preſent, ſo much as offer my Opinion, for divers reaſons. The rather, becauſe I can fully anſwer that objection without it.

2. Namely, by ſaying— 2. *If this be the time of their killing, ere this warre end*; then is my *confidence* moſt certain, and we have *a moſt full verball promiſe*, (which is more then I ſaid before) *That England ſhall not quite loſe the Goſpel, nor the Church, at this time.* Their death is limited clearly, to *three dayes and a half*, (that is ſo many years) and then they certainly *riſe again*, and *aſcend into heaven*, which cannot ſignifie leſſe, then a *moſt glorious and bleſſed Reformation*, at the cloſe of all the foregoing evils; which fully anſwers both my Doctrin, and Application.

I have now onely the ſixt and laſt Point to handle, namely,

Doct. 6. [*There is great hopes, that thoſe who are extraordinarily raiſed up to a ſpeciall opportunity of ſerviceableneſſe of the Church, are intended*

tended by God to procure her help, if they will themselves, and be faithfull.]

Doct. 6. Hopes that extraordinary Instruments shall be used to help the Church.

The phrase in the Text, *Who knows?* is usuall in Scripture, to signifie *great hope*, if not altogether *certainty*, *Jonah* 3. 9. *Joel* 2. 14. And with this, *Mordecai* intends to put courage and comfort into *Esther*, to whom he spake before in a threatning strain, not *willingly*, but as apprehending a *necessity*. And the *bitternesse* of that Pill, he *tempers* and allays with this Cordiall; *That in all likelihood, if she would venture her self for the people of God*, according to their necessity, and her duty, *she should be the person, used in the deliverance; and that her extraordinary strange advancement to be Queen, was intended by God, for this very end.* And the Reasons are very fair for it.

Grounded on the Text in Scripture phrase.

Confirmed by Reasons.

1. *God is most wise, and doth nothing in vain.* Now it would at least *seem* to be in vain, that when a work *is to be done*, He should *extraordinarily fit* an instrument for it, and then *not imploy* that instrument, unlesse there prove some to be *some speciall failing* in that instrument, in the mean time. Indeed, if such an instrument *warp*, or grow *crooked*, He may with *apparent wisedom*, lay it by altogether, or for a time. 1. That all such may be *humble*, and ascribe nothing *to themselves* of their fitnesse, strength, or successe, but *all to God*. 2. And that those that look at the most hopefull instruments, should not *idolize* them, and forget God, by *trusting* too much in them, or *applying* our selves to them too much, (*neglecting God*) as we are greatly apt to do. But if they *persevere in faithfulnesse*, no reason can (by us at least) be conceived, why God should refuse to use them, in that work which is to be done certainly; namely, the help of his Church *in desperate dangers*.

Reason 1. From Gods wisdome.

Though he cast aside warping Instruments sometimes.

2. God is pleased to do thus, to shew that *He hath no fickleness in him.* He is not *weary* of an instrument, which he hath *long* used, much lesse when the *great time of using* them comes. Onely (as before) he will not have any think *him tied* to any that shall carry themselves untowardly, specially *in any visible manner.* And yet he also vouchsafes sometimes to *overlook* a great many failings, in those that are *his own.* Of which their humiliation, repentance, and amendment, may be a *happy pledge*, both to themselves, and others too, as far *as it is as visible* as their failings

Reas. 2. From Gods unchangeableness.

Greatly manifested in overlooking sundry failings.

Doct. 6. Hopes that extraordinary Instruments shall be used to help the Church.

failings have been *visible*. So, though God saw fit to lay aside *Moses*, for a particular visible failing, (*yet specially for the types sake*, to shew that the *Law* brings us not to *Canaan*, but *Joshuah*, *Jesus*) yet raising up *Joshuah* in his stead, he carries him through the work, though *he also had his failing*, in not searching in time for *Achan*. So after God had cast off *Saul*, he so assists *David*, (notwithstanding his failings also) as when he died, *Israel* was delivered from all enemies round about, *and no adversary left unsubdued*, 1 *King*. 5. 3, 4. And so after he had the second time set on *Zerubbabell*, and *Jeshua*, upon the work of his Temple, (*after their long lingring*) he carries it on by their hands, and so *promised them*, *Hag*. 2. 4. *Zach*. 4. 7- 9. And specially, having raised up faithfull *Nehemiah* extraordinarily, (who yet acknowledges he had need of *sparing*, *according to the greatness of Gods mercy*, *Neh*. 13. 22.) he was *continually* with him, and *mightily prospered* him, for his Churches good every way.

Reason 3. To encourage such, and others by them.

3. God doth this usually, to *encourage*, both such instruments to *engage themselves* to the utmost for him; and others, to *associate themselves to such persons*, as to *standards* by him set up, to revive, unite, and strengthen his people. *The faith* of the best is not so strong, but it *needs experimentall encouragements*, as well as *generall promises*. For which end specially, the *Scripture examples of deliverances* are recorded, which yet would stand in very little stead, if *extraordinarily raised*, and fitted *instruments* should be *usually* cast by and not used. Nature hath seen this, and so made a Proverb, *That an Army of Harts, if led by a Lion, may be victorious*. The discovery of somewhat *extraordinary* in any *Leader*, seems a *promise* of successe; which mightily raises the spirits of *those that follow*, who else were ready to droop and fall away.

Reas. 4. The promises to the Churches helpers, belong first to such.

4. *The manifold Promises of blessing to the Church*, *and successe to those that engage themselves for it*, in time of danger, do fall *most strongly to the share of such* Eminent, and extraordinarily raised persons. *To him that hath shall be given*, *and he shall have abundance*. He that had *five talents* being faithfull, is blest with the gain *of five more*, and hath the *unprofitable servants talent* cast in besides, *Matt*. 25. 28, 29, *Luke* 19. 24, 26. Insomuch that ——

5. Finally,

5. Finally, *scarce any* (if any) *example can be given, of any such hopes disappointed, but the cause, to wit, their failing in some main point of duty, hath been as manifest as their disappointment.* We finde it in *Saul*, 1 *Sam.* 13. 13. 15. and even in *Moses* (and *Aaron*) their unbelief, *Numb.* 20. Nay, not so much but the *very delayes* have their causes *assigned*, or at least they may be *gathered*. God expressely *chides* the *Jews* for their neglect, *Hag.* 1. And he that shall *diligently* observe the time that the Temple was in hand, before *Artaxerxes* Decree, (specially if it were *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, as many think) or even let it be *Cambyses*, or *Smerdis* the *Mage*), will see cause to think, they made but *slow hast* with it, when they had liberty enough. So that delay in *Joshua's* time, was plainly for want of *enquiry after Achan*, and doing *justice* on him; and the *stop of the Ark* from *Jerusalem*, was a *wrong order* taken in the carriage of it, which occasioned *Uzzahs meddling beyond his calling*, and Gods *breach* upon him for it. But where we finde none of these *miscarriages*, the instruments *prosper* in their undertaken work for the Churches help and good.

Doct. 6. *Reas.* 5. No disappointment recorded, but some cause assigned. 1 Chro. 13. 15

The Use of this Point is at once to *Encourage, and warn the Parliament*, (and all Prime Instruments) *to continue in faithfulnesse for the Churches utmost help.* You have heard in the former Point, that *Deliverance and enlargement shall arise some way or other.* This tells you, *There is great hopes, You are the men God intends to use in it.* To this purpose consider: 1. What *great* things God hath *already done for you*: 2. What *by you.* I will onely name *some heads* (for your meditations) though they deserve the *descant of Volumes.*

Use. Encouragement to the Parliament to be faithfull to the Church.

1. From what God hath already done for you.

1. *Your comming to the authority* you are invested with, and so power to help the Church, was *more strange* (all things considered) then *Esthers* comming to be *Queen.* 1. That *any Parliament* should be called. 2. That *such a Parliament* should be chosen. 3. That *before the Act* of continuance, it should appear a *ruin to dissolve* you as formerly. 4. But specially, that *any ruin* was not hazarded, rather then the passing that *Act of continuance* (an Act of such wonder, as we can scarce beleeve our *senses*, our *experience*, our *understandings*, that it is *credible*, or *possible.*) All this makes up *your authority and power* to help

1 In your authority given.

Doct. 6. Application

the Church, incomparable beyond all your *Predeceſſors*.

2. Preſerved.

2. *The preſerving your authority in the hearts of men*, after ſo many invective *aſperſions*, and in the midſt of ſo many *difficulties*, even in the hearts of many looſe men. Whom alſo your *enemies carriages* have as much alienated from them.

3. Your perſons preſerved.

3. *Your famous preſervations* from the Northern *Army*, the armed *Cavaliers*, the late *Conſpiracy*, and all other *attempts* of fraud, or force.

4. Speciall victories.

4. *The graduall victories, and deliverances* obtained by thoſe imployed by you, and for you, ſome of them of ſingular remark, and importance; particularly *Mancheſter*, preſerved from force, and *Briſtoll* from treachery; beſides ſundry other Towns, that ſhould have been betrayed.

5. Helps at a dead lift.

5. *Your being helped often at a dead lift.* Your adverſaries have ſcoffed at it. But you have found it, that as oft as you have been *at a ſtand*, God hath afforded ſome *diſcovery*, or ſome *victory*, to ſet the *wheeles* agoing again.

6. Spirituall helps.

6. *Your ſpirituall helps beyond all other Parliaments.* Such powerfull preaching ſo neer you, (and all the City over) ſpecially *your monethly Faſts*, never the like in any Age.

7. Armies of prayers.

7. *An Army*, many armies *of prayers* all the Kingdom over, more for you, (both *from hope*, and *fear*) then ever for any of your Predeceſſors.

8. Growth in zeal by all.

8. That which makes all the reſt moſt hopefull, *that all theſe things together*, Mercies, and Dangers, and Deliverances, and means of grace, *have made you grow in zeal, for God and his Church.* Witneſſe your *Proteſtation*, Declarations, your beginnings of *reformation* of Idolatry, Superſtition, Sabbath-breaking, ſcandalous Miniſters, your late *Covenant*, and calling the *Aſſembly. What now means God by all this?* But that you ſhould think *He loves you*, and means to *uſe you further*, for his glory, *if you will your ſelves, and be faithfull.* And that *as oft* as you are afraid, leſt after all you ſhould be deſtroyed; you ſhould encourage your ſelves as *Manoahs* wife did her husband; *If the Lord were pleaſed to kill us, he would not have done ſo, and ſo to us, Judg.* 13. 23.

2. From what God hath done by you, always proſpering effectuall meanes.

2. For conſider alſo *what he hath done by you*, in one word. Doe but except that you are not yet delivered, and that you were to be brought into dangers & troubles; *What one main thing have you at-*

attempted effectually for the war, or for the Church, wherin you have not been greatly and effectually aſſiſted, to a remarkeable degree? I cannot have time to name particulars. But *your Journalls* and Records *will tell you.* And I beſeech you, think often and much of them; that they may *ſtrengthen your hearts*, and hands againſt all *Future Feares* of danger. *Eſther* had nothing *but her ſtrange advancement* to hearten her. You have all *her experience* and ſucceſſe, *beſides your own*, to encourage you. You may poſſibly be *in greater danger* then ever yet. But I think, *hardly in ſuch, as the Jewes were now* when ſhe undertook their help. And I dare ſay, *it is leſſe* (though all is alike, in propriety of ſpeech, with the Almighty) *to deliver you, and us by you, then the Iewes by Eſther.* Be not then afraid of your enemies and the Churches, Fear not to provoke them in your juſt defence. *You can no way more expoſe your ſelves to them, then by fearing them, and ſo complying with them.* The Church is to be helped againſt them, which cannot be, if you fear or favour them. Once more therefore let me remember you of *your engagements moſt ſolemnly* made in your former *Proteſtation* and late *Covenant* about this; and to aſſure you, that *God will certainly require both the one and the other*, of you. You have heard that ſounding word, (even out of this place) *I will bring a ſword upon you, which ſhall avenge the quarrels of my Covenant. Lev.* 26. 25. Take heed of that. You *have had* great help by the *Peoples cleaving* to you, according to their *Proteſtation*, and *look* for more by this *Covenant.* I beſeech you, *doe not forfeit all*, by failing of your part. As you deal, *you muſt expect to be dealt* with herein. Which however it would be *ſinfull in them* that ſhould break *their* obligation, though *you* ſhould break *yours*; yet would it be *moſt juſt with God.* Let me then *pray* you in his name (who may command you,) that when ever we ſhall be ſo *happy*, as that it is ſeaſonable to *treat* again, *that you admit not, much leſſe interpoſe, any article, to doe otherwiſe or leſſe then your Proteſtation and Covenant.* Upon the *debate*, let them be *read* over, and *ſcanned* carefully, how *they* and any *motion* agree, and keep to your *rules.* Having *ſuch clauſes*, as they have, you will find them to afford *juſt Liberty* enough: But in the reſidue to be more *unalterable to you*, or by you, *then the Lawes of the Medes and Perſians.* I am no *Iudge*, nor ever *ſhall be*, nor ever *deſire* to be, what is the mea-

Doct. 6. Application. Encouragement & warning to the Parliament.

Therefore feat not enemies ſo as to comply with them,

But keep to the Proteſtation and Covenant.

Specially conſult with them in any Treaty.

Doct. 6. Application. Encouragement and warning to the Parliament.

meaning of *condign punishment*, in the *Protestation*, further then belongs to a *Minister* of the Gospell, and Word of God. But I again beseech you, remember that *you are tied to do according to that* in the presence of Almighty God. Interpret it, with as much *favour*, and with as much *charity* as you can toward any. But there is a *sad sentence*, 1 *Kings* 20. 42. which he was *angry* to hear, to whom it was pronounced, *verse* 43. But he found it *true* to his cost three years after, when it seems he had *altogether forgotten it*, 1 *Kings* 22. Therefore, I humbly entreat you, to ask *Gods consent* first, whether he will *spare* such, or such, or *pardon* them; and if *He* will not, *You* must not. And next, *consult* not onely with *your own* safeties, but all *theirs* you are entrusted with. The *Land*, the Church, *Religion*, Laws, *thousands* that have helped you: Consult with their *good*, (though not with all their *persons*) and then you will see, what you must do with *Delinquents*. You see, I meddle with no particulars, because I am *no States-man*. Onely St. *Paul* bids me, *Remember those that are in bonds, as bound with them.* So do I you, and beseech you, *to take as effectuall a course as may be*, that *Gods* prisoners, *your* prisoners, at *Oxford*, and else where, *may be better used*, or if it be possible, *delivered.*

Asking Gods consent about pardoning Delinquents.

Heb. 13. 3. And helping those that are in prison, for helping you & the Church.

And now if you will be resolute, and faithfull to God, and for God, and his people, I am *so far assured* of your safety and successe, in the issue, that I desire *no other shelter on earth*, for security, then *you shall have* generally, as a Body, *as a Parliament. I may miscarry alone*, though you escape: and multitudes of us, *must miscarry*, if you should be ruined. But I am confident, *You* shall not, *nor Gods Cause* in your hands, *if you hold out* in integrity. I confesse, I am once *grieved* and *ashamed*, to read the *victories* Gods people obtained *in the Old Testament*, who yet were not without *some failings*, but the best of them, men *subject to like passions* as we are; and so it was the Covenant of *Grace*, not *Works*, whereby they obtained such *Deliverances:* And then to think *how often* Gods people, under the New Testament, *and now*, are *defeated*, and put to the worse. The truth is, *we are worse* in our hearts and lives *then they*, or else we should have *as many*, and as great *victories*, (except *miracles*, but not excepting *wonders*) as they ever had. And if we can yet at last,

The victories under the old Testament may make us confident of the like, if we will be faithfull.

learn

learn to be *as faithfull as they, (Governours and People) when they proſpered,* I will be bold to promiſe, *We ſhall never have any defeat more.*

And now I cloſe up all, with that encouraging charge of holy *Jehoſhaphat,* to his great Councell of Judges, 2 *Chron.* 19. 11. *Deal couragiouſly, and the Lord ſhall be with the good.*

FINIS.

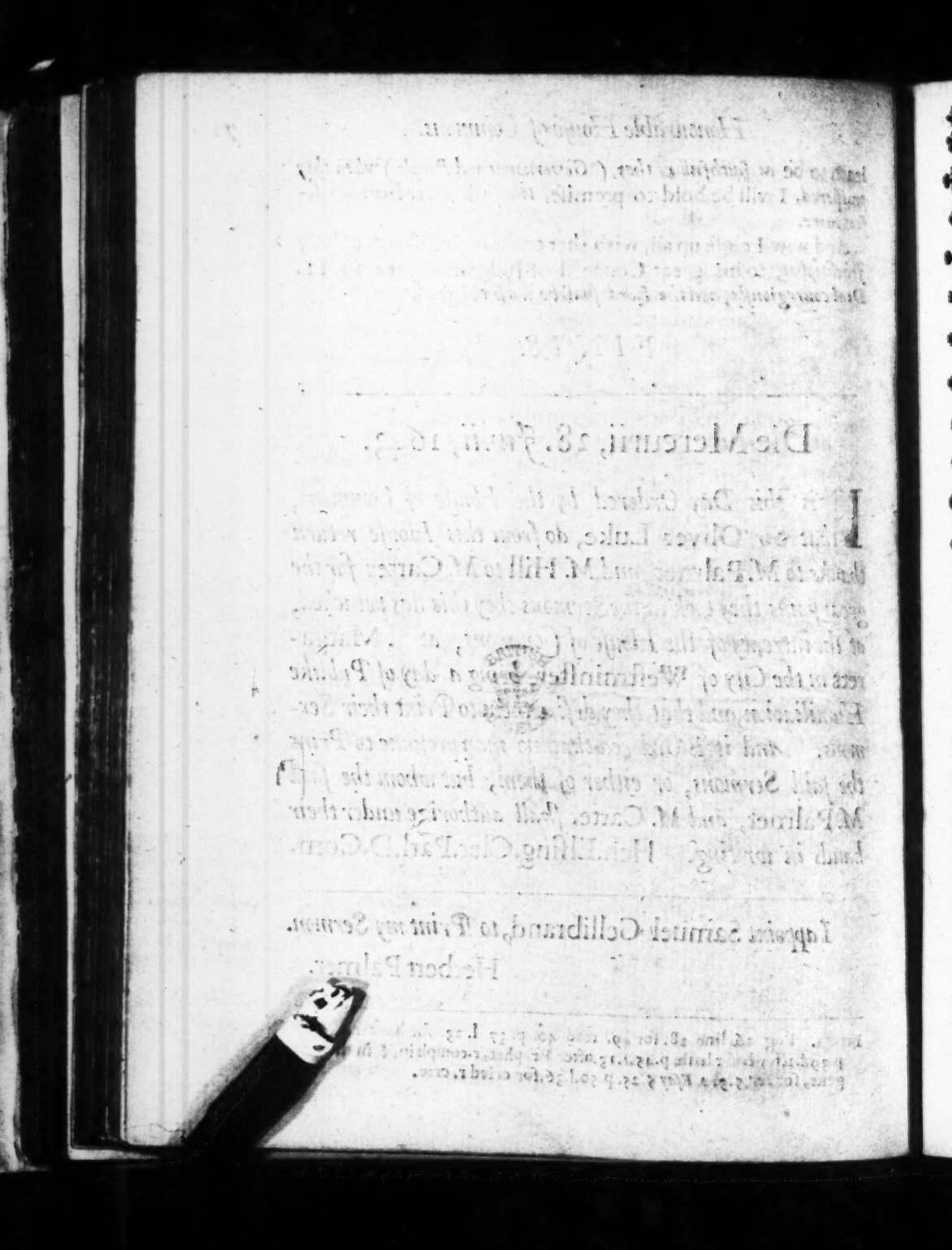
Die Mercurii, 28. *Junii,* 1643.

IT is this Day Ordered by the Houſe of Commons, that Sir Oliver Luke, *do from this Houſe return thanks to M.* Palmer, *and M.* Hill *to M.* Carter *for the great pains they took in the Sermons they this day preached, at the intreaty of the Houſe of Commons, at* S. Margarets *in the City of* Weſtminſter, *being a day of Publike Humiliation, and that they deſire them to Print their Sermons. And it is Ordered that no man preſume to Print the ſaid Sermons, or either of them, but whom the ſaid M.* Palmer, *and M.* Carter *ſhall authorize under their hands in writing.* Hen. Elſing. Cler. Parl. D. Com.

I appoint Samuel Gellibrand, *to Print my Sermon.*

Herbert Palmer.

Errata. Pag. 16. line 28. for 49. read 40. p. 37. l. 23. for have r. having. p. 39. l. 1. for had r. hath. p. 45. l. 13. after Prophet, r. complain. & in the margent, for *Ier.* 5. 9. r. *Eſay* 5. 25. p. 50. l. 36. for cried r. crie.



4

TWO LETTERS

THE ONE

Being Intercepted by the Parliaments Forces, which was ſent from Sir *Hugh Cholmley* to captain *Gotherick*, imployed in the Parliaments ſervice;

Adviſing him to quit *Wreſtle*-Caſtle, or elſe to ſecure captain *Carter*, and to make himſelf maſter of it, and keep it for His Majeſties ſervice.

THE OTHER

Captain *Gothericks* honeſt advice, in anſwer to the ſaid Sir *Hugh*, deteſting ſo treacherous and unworthy an act.

ORdered by the Commons in Parliament, That theſe two Letters be forthwith printed and publiſhed:
H: Elſynge, Cler. Parl. D: Com.

Printed for *Edw. Husbands*. July 12. 1643.

SIR,

I Am here at *Weiton*, vvhere I am entertained vvith ſtrange nevvs, which is that Captain *Hotham* is priſoner in Hull; Sir *John Hotham* driven out by the Townſmen, and coming this day to Beverley was firſt ſtopped by *Boynton*, then beaten from his horſe, wounded and ſent priſoner to Hull: your father and his other Officers are in the ſame condition; I thought fit, out of the acquaintance I have with you, and love I bear to your Family, to give you this Advertiſement, that you might the better think for your own ſafety, which to my underſtanding cannot be, but either by quitting *Wreſtle* Caſtle, and

drawing as many men as you can after you, or elſe ſeizing on *Carter*, and making your ſelfe Maſter of that place, which if you do not one of theſe, aſſure your ſelfe you will be made a priſoner by *Carter*: you may think this a Stratagem; but upon my Faith I write nothing but what is averred by perſons of credit, which comes now purpoſely from *Beverley* to give me this Advertiſement: you have an opportunity both to ſecure your ſelfe and perform the duty you owe to His Majeſtie as a Subject; and if in the mannaging of it I can do you any ſervice, you ſhall find me moſt really; Sir,

Your affectionate Friend,

Hu: Cholmley.

I am

I Am now here at VVeighton, *but purpoſe this night to march (God permitting) with my Forces towards* Beverley: *If you can certainly make your ſelfe Maſter of the Caſtle, it will be the better courſe: What you reſolve on, do preſently, for I am confident elſe* Carter *will have Inſtructions to ſeize on you.*

To his much reſpected Friend, Captain *Gothericke* at VVreſtle Caſtle, Theſe.

Captain

Captain Gothericks *honeſt advice, in anſwer to Sir* Hugh Cholmley.

SIR,

I am at Wreſtle-Caſtle, where I received your Letter; I am ſo far from entertaining your Motion, as I am thereby incenſed to imagine you (upon juſt grounds) nothing my friend: Sir, my affection to you makes me acquaint you with our paſſage, in my late obſervations; which is, that your fame in the rendring up your truſt in Scarbrough, hath left ſo ill a ſent behinde, in the opinion of the County, as were able to deterre any honeſt man from treading your ſteps; neither have I (prayſed be God) ſo little of a Gentleman an honeſt man, or a good ſubject, as to be invited to treachery. For your newes from HULL, my Father and the reſt

reſt of the Officers are in the ſame ſtation they formerly were in; Sir JOHN HOTHAM by report is fled the Towne, no man knowing of it: For your advice to me, I am (aſſure your ſelfe ſir) more honeſt then to reſcent it: For Captaine CARTER he hath approved himſelfe ſo reall to me, in every thing as it would render me odious, even to my ſelfe to entertaine your motion; for the oppertunity to ſecure my ſelfe. I am confident a good cauſe, and a good conſcience, is the cheifeſt ſecurity; both which, if your advice (or rather device) were proſecuted, *I* ſhould be deprived of.

Give me leave J beſeech you ſir to certifie my advice, by way of anſwer to you; there can be no way more happy for you, as J conceive, more ſecure to your perſon, eſtate, or render you more a friend to your Country, then to draw away with you thoſe Proteſtants, whom you miſled by fair and ſpecious pretences of being the KINGS friends, when indeed it is to be the popiſh parties friends; (with whom as this, ſo all trecherous plots are hatched) and returne to that cauſe which you have deſerted, and which J am confident your conſcience

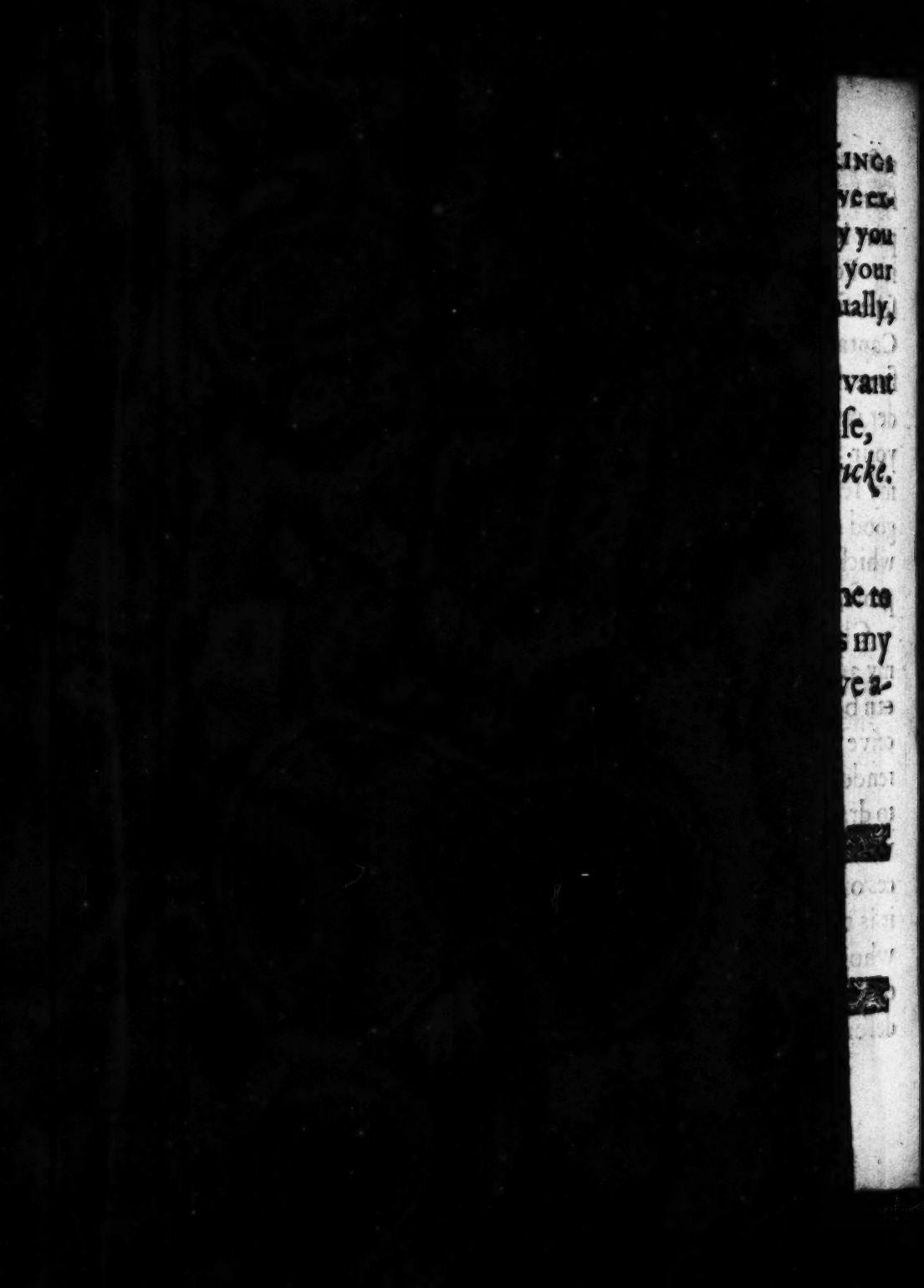
ſcience tells you is honeſt, (to wit) the KINGs and Countries cauſe; for which you have experience, we did and ſtill doe fight, hereby you ſhall ingage him (that really wiſheth your converſion) to profeſſe himſelfe continually,

VVreſtle Caſtle,
28. of Iune;
1643.

Sir, your Servant
in Gods Cauſe,
William Gordricke.

Sir, I beſeech you remember me to Captain *Br: Buſhell*, who knowes my Reſolutions to be as reall, as I have aboue ſpecified.

FINIS.



ENGLANDS COVENANT

PROVED

LAWFULL & NECESSARY

also at this time, both by Scripture and Reason.

TOGETHER,

With sundry Answers to the usuall Objections made against it.

By *S. C.* Preacher at B. *F.*

Eccles 5 4.

When thou vowest a vow unto God, deferre not to pay it; for He hath no pleasure in fooles; Pay that which thou hast vowed.

July 5 13 LONDON,

Printed for *Henry Overton* in Popes-head Alley, 1643.

Courteous Reader,

THe ſubſtance of this enſuing Treatiſe was lately Preached, and now at the importunate requeſt of ſome Friends, is expoſed to the publique view and cenſure: the Authors intentions are not to publiſh himſelfe, who can glory in nothing but in his Infirmities, but till the worke bee undertaken by ſome abler Perſon, to ſend this abroad, that ſothe Ignorant may bee Informed of the weightineſſe of a Vow, and Covenant; that the doubtfull may bee reſolved concerning the Lawfullneſſe of that in hand, and that all, may bee excited to the carefull performance of what they bind themſelves to hereby; If in any of theſe thou receiveſt ſatisfaction and benefit, praiſe God, and Pray for him who is

Thine in the Lord

S. C.

ENGLANDS Covenant.

THe Reasons that have induced the *Parliament* to frame and propose this present *Covenant* to be taken by all the well-affected Subjects of this Kingdome (as I conceive) are especially two.

1. By reason of Gods hand which lies so heavie upon us in this present Judgement of the devouring Sword, which being one of the greatest outward miseries which can befall a people, shewes that their sinnes are growne to a great ripenesse, and that gentler Physick will not serve turne to purge out their strong corruptions: whereupon after the Godly examples of the pious and renowned Kings of *Iudah*, they have pitched upon this course, as a speciall meanes to pacifie Gods wrath, by a generall Covenanting with God to indeavour a Reformation of our hearts and lives. 1.

2. Observing the incessant and indefatigable Plots of the Enemies of God, and his Cause, either by open violence, or secret fraud to oppresse, or undermine the Power and purity of our Religion, and to introduce *Popery* instead therof: They have therefore thought fit by this *Covenant* to lay a stronger engagement upon every one to detect and discover, and oppose whatsoever may tend to the prejudice of the one, or to the furtherance of the other: But withall consider- 2.

ing that the major part of thoſe which are to enter into it, either for want of Information may ſcruple ſome part of it, or doe it *dubitante conſcientiâ*, with a doubting conſcience, (which vvill make it a ſin to them) or through inconſiderateneſſe may doe it hand over head, without underſtanding, or a juſt prepondering of the ſtrong engagement which they lay upon themſelves hereby, which will make them to breake it as lightly, as they undertooke it raſhly. I have indeavoured therefore for the Information of the one, and ballaſting of the other: in theſe few enſuing lines to ſhevv the ſeverall ſorts of *Covenants*, and the requiſites of a Lavvfull *Covenant*, and by the Application of this preſent to thoſe Rules, to prove the lawfulneſſe of it: as alſo by ſhewing the great ingagement that a ſacred Vovv laies upon the Conſcience of the undertakers of it, to deterre all, either from a giddy taking, or a raſh and inconſiderate breaking of the ſame:

Vowes and Covenants are of 2. ſorts { Unlawfull and ſinfull. / Lawfull and good.

A ſinnefull Covenant is a bond whereby wee ingage our ſelves to ſomething that is evill: ſuch was that of thoſe wicked Jewes: 23. *Act.* 12. Who bound themſelves under an Oath of execration, that they vvould neither eat, nor drinke till they had killed *Paul*.

A Lavvfull Covenant is either { Civill. / Religious / Mixt.

Civile. A Civill Covenant is a bond whereby wee ingage our ſelves each to other in civill reſpects: ſuch as was that betvvixt *Abraham*. and *Abimilech*, 21. *Gen*. 27. *&c*.

Sacrum. A Religious Covenant is a bond whereby we engage our ſelves to God, to yield obedience to Him in thoſe things which are agreeable to his will, 2 *Chron*. 29. 10. 10 *Ezr*. 3. 19 *Nehem*. 29.

And this Religious Covenant is either { Univerſall, / Singular.

A Univerſall Religious Covenant is a bond of all the Faithfull,

full, whereby they engage themselves to the service of God in abstaining from sinne, and indeavouring to keepe all his Commandements: This *Covenant* is made by all in *Baptisme*, and renewed so often as wee come to the *Sacrament* of the Lords Supper. A singular Religious Covenant is a bond wherein some one Person for some speciall cause doth engage himselfe to God.

And it is either { Absolute, and perpetuall. / Conditionall, and Temporary.

An absolute perpetuall Covenant is a bond whereby we engage our selves, absolutely to God, and during the whole tearme of our lives from which wee can never be released: such was that of *David*, 119. *Psal.* 106. I have svvorne and I vvill performe it, that I vvill keepe thy righteous Judgements. A Conditionall and Temporary Covenant is a bond whereby we engage our selves upon some condition, and for a certaine time onely, vvhich being expired, or the condition unperformed, vve are freed from the same: whereof we have examples, 1 *Sam.* 1. *v.* 11. 18. *Act.* 18.

A mixt Covenant which is partly Religious, and partly civill, is a bond whereby vve engage our selves both to God and men: Such is this Covenant now appointed to be entred into: and such was that 2 *King.* 11. 17. *Jehoiada* made a Covenant between the Lord and the King: and the King, and the People, that they should bee the Lords People: between the King also and the People: Thus having considered the severall sorts of Covenants, I shall come in the next place to collect such requisites, and ingredients, as are necessary to the constitution of a Lavvfull Covenant, that so by examining this present Covenant thereby, wee may more cleerely be convinced of the lawfulnesse of the same. *Mixtum.*

Which Ingredients are especially these:

1. That the Subject matter of it be lavvfull, or else it's no Covenant, but a conspiracy, and they vvhich enter into it are like *Simeon* and *Levy* brethren in evill, or like those wicked Jevves, vvhich bound themselves by an Oath, and a curse that they vvould neither eate, nor drinke till he had killed *Paul*, 23. *Act.* 12. 1. *De Licitis.*

 2. Neither

2. Neither is it ſufficient that the matter of it be lawfull, but it muſt be known alſo to be ſo by thoſe which enter into it, at the time when they undertake it: for as in an Oath we muſt ſweare in truth, *i. e.* the matter of it muſt be true: ſo in Judgement alſo, *i. e.* knowing it to be true, 4. *Jer.* 2. or elſe we are guilty of perjury: ſo in vowes, and Covenants which are ſomtimes accompanied with an Oath, we muſt be well informed of the lawfulnes of the matter thereof, or elſe we make ourſelves guilty before God: and that of *Solomon* may be applyed to ſuch perſons 20 *Prov.* 25. It is a ſnare for a man to devoure holy things, and after the vow to enquire.

3. It is alſo further required that they which enter into a Covenant ſhould before hand, and at their entrance into it, fully reſolve with themſelves to the uttermoſt of their power to obſerve and keep the ſame, and that in every part, and branch of it: whereunto tends that advice of *Solomon*, 5 *Eccleſ.* 4 5. *When thou vowest a vow defferre not to pay it; for God hath no pleaſure in fooles.* Pay therefore that which thou haſt vowed? *Better it is that thou ſhouldeſt not vow, then that thou ſhouldeſt vow and not pay.* 30. *Numb.* 11.

4. *De poſſibilibus.* 4. It muſt be of things within our power: or elſe to engage our ſelves by a vow to impoſſibilities, what is it but to prophane the ſacred name of God? and bring downe his curſe upon us: this was the ſinne of thoſe after the flood which covenanted among themſelves, to build a Tower which ſhould reach up to Heaven: a thing impoſſible, if God had not confounded their Language: and it was alſo an aggravation of their ſinne, who vowed that they would neither eat, nor drinke till they had killed *Paul*: which being out of their power, made their vow the more unlawfull unto them.

5. 5. The Perſons which bind themſelvs by a vow, muſt be *ſui Juris*, ſuch as have power of their owne heads; and bee not under the jurisdiction of another, or elſe they muſt be carefull to take along with them the conſent of their Governours, if they meane to free themſelves from ſinne: a Maide in her Fathers Houſe, or a woman that hath an Husband

may

may not vow without the consent of their superiors, 30 *Num.* 3. &c. the Reason is because they are not at their own disposall, and therefore not able to perform their vowes without the approbation of another, *vers.* 13.

Having thus shewed the severall sorts of Covenants, and what is required to make a lawfull one; I shall now come to apply this present Covenant to these rules, and thereby not only vindicate it from all unlawfullnes but also shew the usefullnes, if not necessity of it, at such a time as this is; for which end I shall take it in sunder, and cleere the lawfullnes of it in each branch that so it may appeare to bee free from just exception in the subject matter of it, which is the first thing required in a lawfull Covenant.

1. First, in the first part of it we professe our hearty sorrow for our owne, and the Nationall sins, which have deserved the Calamities and judgements which now lie upon us, and that our intention is by Gods grace to endeavour the amendment of our owne wayes: which clause is so cleere that I presume that every Christian at the first view, will not onely see a lawfullnes, but a necessity of the same: for in Gods judgements we may read our sins, in the generality, and greatnesse of the one; the generality and greatnesse of the other, and in that day (when Gods hand lyes heavy upon a Nation) doth the Lord God call to weeping, and mourning and to baldnesse, *&c.* 22. *Isa.* 12. Wherein we see that same thing which is undertaken in this Covenant, imposed as a duty by God himselfe; Who doth not onely require a sence of, and sorow for our sins, but a resolute endeavour of Reformation also; *wash you, make you cleane, take away the evill of your workes from before mine eyes,* &c. 1 *Isa.* 16. Or else our humiliation is but hanging downe our heads like a bull rush for a day, 58. *Isa.* 5. meer mocking of God and deluding our owne soules.

2. That we doe abhorre and detest the late wicked, and treacherous designe, and that we never gave or will give, our assent to the execution thereof: but will according to our power and vocation oppose and resist the same and all other

of

of the like nature: this branch no one may take which hath in any meaſure been privie to the ſaid Plot, till they have firſt unburthened their Conſcience, by acknowledging what they have been privie to, and craving pardon for the ſame; otherwiſe they devote themſelves to the curſe of God, who will be a ſwift witneſſe againſt ſuch perjured Perſons: and whoſe flying role will enter into their Houſes, and remaine therein and conſume them with the timber thereof, and ſtones thereof, 5 *Zach.* 4. But for ſuch perſons as are free from the guilt of ſo foule a blot, they not onely may, but ought to profeſſe their deteſtation of ſo horrid a Plot, as in the execution muſt neceſſarily have tended to the death and ruine of ſo many Innocents: and had the Plotters obtained their ends; would without all queſtion have ended in the diſſolution of the *Parliament*. And therein in the Fatall period of Religion, Lawes, Liberties and all future free *Parliament*, alſo; as the Commiſſion granted to them, will cleerely evidence and evince.

3. 3. That in caſe any other like deſigne ſhall come to our knowledge, we will make ſuch timely diſcovery as may beſt conduce to the preventing of it: By like *Deſigne* we are to underſtand, ſuch as are deſtructive or prejudiciall to the *Parliament*, City or Kingdome, as this former would have been: and this no one that is friend to any of theſe, or to himſelfe in them can refuſe to promiſe. Some of the very Heathen from the light, and Principles of Nature it ſelfe, have refuſed to ſurvive their Countries Liberty: and ſhall not Chriſtians put to their helping hands, to wreſt the Liberty of their Religion from the attempts of Papiſts: the Liberties of the *Parliament* from the Complotters of their ruine, and the Liberties of the City, and Kingdome from the Power of Tyrannicall Oppreſſours, which is all that wee promiſe to doe when we ingage our ſelves to a timely diſcovery of the like deſignes. The Kingdome is a Ship: the Parliament our Steeres men: the City the principall Cabbin: and Religion the precious Fraught wherewith God hath laden our Ship, and he is a Traitour to all theſe which ſhall refuſe to tye himſelfe to indeavour their preſervation. 4. That

4. That we do in our Conſciences beleive that the Forces raiſed by the two Houſes of *Parliament*, are raiſed and continued for their juſt Defence: and for the Defence of the true Proteſtant Religion, and Liberties of the Subject againſt the Forces raiſed by the King: by the beliefe here ſpoken of (as I conceive) wee are not to underſtand ſuch a Faith, as is grounded upon indubitable & infallible Principles, as we believe the Articles of our Religion: but only ſuch a credence as is grounded upon probable Arguments, and Reaſons, which firſt working upon our Judgements doe afterwards convince our Conſciences to believe the ſame Now that we have ſufficient reaſon thus to believe, let us but a little call to mind the Plot of bringing up the Army out of the *North*: The attempt made againſt the five Members: they withdrawing of the King from his faithfull Councell: the active inſtruments which have been imployed into forraigne parts, to provide Armes, Ammunition, and Commanderss the bringing of them over from time to time, their deſigne: to ſeize upon many of the ſtrong Holds of the Kingdome: the putting of the Armes into the hands of untruſty Commiſsioners for *Array*: the Arming of the Papiſts contrary to Law: the correſpondence held with the Scottiſh and Iriſh Papiſts, and Rebells: the indeavour to raiſe a party in this City, to ſeize upon the Perſons of ſome principall Members of Parliament and City: and the late Plot as bad, if not worſe, then all the reſt if by Gods mercy it had not been ſtrangled in the birth: theſe are ſufficient argumen's to induce us to believe that it was but high time for the Parliament, to raiſe Forces, and to continue them for their juſt Defence. Againe conſider alſo the ſetting up of Maſſes in in *York*, and *Oxford*: the many Jeſuites, Prieſts, and Jeſuited Papiſts that are in the adverſe Armies, whoſe Romiſh Plots are only to advance the Catholique Cauſe, and ruine our Religion. Beſides the granting of ſo many Commiſſions for *Array*, which were ſo deſtructive to the Subjects Liberty: the pillaging and plundering of the Houſes and Eſtates of the beſt Subjects, and burning of their Habitations, and we cannot but be convinced, it was high time to raiſe

and it is just to continue these forces for the defence of the true Protestant Religion, and the liberties of the Subject, and hereupon we doe declare, vow and covenant, that wee will according to our power and vocation, assist these Forces thus raised and continued by both Houses of Parliament against the forces raised by the King without their consent: If we be upon the former grounds, or the like once convinced, that these forces are justly raised and continued for the ends aforesaid, then it will necessarily follow that we are bound in Conscience to be aiding and assisting to them according to our power and vocation, *i. e.* with our persons if we be fit, and have a calling thereunto, and with our purses according to our abilities: and with our advice and Prayers also for their good successe; and hee is no true friend either to Parliament, Religion, or Liberties, that upon information shall refuse to make this Vow: Besides it is but high time that men should by such a sacred Bond be quickened unto this assistance in these times, wherein so many grow wearie of the work, and by withdrawing their persons and purses from assisting, do much endanger the Cause of God.

5. That we will likewise assist all other persons that shall take this *Oath* in what they shall doe in pursuance thereof, neither can this be justly scrupled, for if we enter into this Covenant our selves, and in pursuance of any thing conteined in it, we shall stand in need of the assistance of others, as we shall desire, so wee cannot but thinke our selves much injured if we find not assistance from them, and then the Law of requitall doth require, that when occasion is offered we shall not withdraw our helpe from them also: besides, by this Union among our selves, the common Cause of God, and the Kingdome will be much strengthened, and every undertaker in it will be much encouraged when they see so many by so strong a Bond to be engaged to their helpe. Againe, it cannot be conceived but that this Covenant will excite & provoke the hatred of the adverse Party against the undertakers of it exceedingly, whereof wee had late experience in our Brethren of *Scotland* so much hated and prosecuted under the Name of Covenanters, and therefore wee have

have need to tye our ſelves to mutuall aſsiſtance for our better ſupport againſt the Odium and rage of the Adverſarie.

6. That wee will not directly or indirectly adhere unto, nor ſhall willingly aſsiſt the forces raiſed by the King, without the conſent of both Houſes of Parliament: Herein proviſion is made againſt equivocation, & thoſe cunning tricks and evaſions which many find out to coſen both themſelves and others; as when a man will not ſend himſelfe, but will ſuffer his wife, or children or other friends to doe it, as hath been the practice of many hundreds in ſeverall parts of the Kingdome, who themſelves have lent Money, or ſent an Horſe to the Parliament, but have ſuffered their Wives or Sons to ſend twice ſo much to the King, that ſo by complying with both, they might eſcape the diſpleaſure of either. Beſides many who (living in ſome places have bin aſhamed to owne the ſupporting of the Kings forces, yet under hand they have contributed much to them: but now its required that neither directly nor indirectly wee be aiding to them, and yet becauſe many whoſe hearts are upright with God and his Cauſe live under the power, or fall into the hands of the barbarous and bloody Cavaliers, ſo that the not contributing to them, may endanger their lives, liberties and eſtates, therefore is that word put in, that we ſhall not willingly aſsiſt, but only in the caſes aforementioned: And if we do but ſeriouſly conſider the aime and drift of the Kings forces evidently diſcovered to all that are not wilfully blind, and their waies and manner of proſecuting the ſame, wee may eaſily conclude that they are enemies to God and his Goſpell, and to the Parliament, and their Liberties, to the Kingdome and its lawes, who will willingly be aſsiſtant to them. And thus I have briefly run over this Covenant in every branch of it, and thereby endeavoured to prove the lawfulneſſe of it in the ſubject matter: I ſhall now proceed to examine it by the other rules required in a lawfull Covenant, that ſo I may fully vindicate it from all heſitation. 6.

The ſecond thing required is, that it be known to be lawfull at the time of the taking of it: for which end the Parliament hath long ſince cauſed it to be publiſhed in Print,

that ſo all men might ſee it, and have time fully to informe themſelves of the lawfulneſſe of it; And in caſe that any doubts ſhould ariſe, they might repaire to thoſe which are fit and able to reſolve them, that ſo no ſcruple might remaine at their taking of it.

3. Thirdly, it muſt be with a purpoſe of keeping it, and ill may he fare that ſhall make this Covenant with any other purpoſe whatſoever: for if it be lawfull, as is proved before, and that thereupon we engage our ſelves by it; it muſt needs argue a profane and Atheiſticall heart in any that ſhall reſolve for ſiniſter ends to take it, and yet purpoſe afterwards to break it; and what do they therein, but pray for a curſe upon themſelves, whilſt invocating the ſacred name of God to be a witneſſe of their ſincerity in making this Vow, yet withal they reſolve that he ſhall diſpenſe with them in their future breaches of it; and how will ſuch diſſemblers be able to anſwer it at the dreadfull day, when the ſecrets of all hearts ſhall be diſcloſed.

4. Fourthly, it muſt be of things within our power, and ſo is this Covenant in all the branches of it.

Laſtly, the perſons that enter into it are either ſuch as have power of their owne heads, or that have the conſent of their ſuperiors; and therefore having all the Ingredients that are required to make up a lawfull Covenant and Vow, it muſt neceſſarily follow that it is lawfull: but let us a little further conſider whether there be not a kind of neceſsity alſo that this, or the like Covenant ſhould be entred into at ſuch a time as this, which I conceive will fully appeare if we conſider.

Firſt, That there is no readier nor more effectuall way to pacifie the diſpleaſure of God and to procure a removall of theſe judgments which ly ſo heavy upon us then by ſorrowing for our ſins acknowledging God Juſtice, and vowing a Reformation, this *Aſa*, *Hezekiah*, *Joſiah*, and *Nehemiah* knew, and therefore had recourſe to this meanes, which accordingly they found ſucceſſefull.

Secondly, It will appeare to be neceſſary if we do but conſider the reſtleſſe attempts of the adverſaries to corrupt and

ſeduce

ſeduce incautious perſons to their owne, and others ruine, they have had their emiſsaries, and inſtruments in every City and town to propoſe the ſpecious baits of honours, Offices, Riches, Favour, Friends, & what not? that ſo they may inveigle the ſimple by working upon every humor, to betray both Church, and Common-wealth into their power. and therfore it cannot but be neceſſary that by the ſacred bond of a Vow, we ſhould be fortified againſt ſuch inticements.

If we doe but conſider he proneſſe that is in our natures to be ſeduced, and led aſide by ſuch importunate ſollicitations, and ſtrong provocations to evill, eſpecially when they come, backed with large promiſes, and great hopes of advantage, we muſt needs confeſſe it neceſſary, that at ſuch a time proviſion of a remedy, ſhould be made againſt ſuch aſſaults, and there can be no better found out then a ſolemne Covenant, whereby we are to engage our ſelves before the ſearcher of all hearts, to ſtop our eares againſt ſuch *Syrens* ſongs, which would enchant us, to ruſh upon the owne deſtruction, and to prefer ſelfe-ends, before the peace and welfare of Church and State. 3.

It cannot be imagined that this late Plot is as yet fully diſcovered, but that there ſtill remaine many perſons undetected which have their hands deeply in it. 4.

And therfore this Covenant is neceſſary that ſo ſuch perſons out of a deep ſenee of that great guilt, which they pluck upon themſelves, in caſe they ſweare falſly therein, may bee brought to an acknowledgement and confeſsion, of what they know about it and to crave pardon for the ſame before they enter into this Covenant, which may be a great meanes to prevent much miſchief that may otherwiſe enſue, in caſe it remaine undiſcovered.

It cannot be doubted but that many both in this City, and in other parts of the Kingdome, have either openly, or ſecretly; ſent money, Plate, Armes, or other neceſſaries to the adverſe Forces, wherby they have bin much ſtrengthned, and this uncivill Civill and unnaturall Warre hath bin much fomented, and therefore it is but neceſſary that every one ſhould diſavow his contribution of ſuch aſsiſtance for 5.

the time to come, that ſo by withdrawing theſe wells, this fire of contention may the ſooner be extinguiſhed.

6. It is evident that this war continuing longer, then was at firſt expected, the ſpirits of many well affected Perſons are much cooled, and deadned in the proſecution of the worke, whence it comes to paſſe that they withdraw their perſons from the ſervice, and cloſe their purſes from contributing to it, whereby the cauſe of God and the Kingdome lies a bleeding almoſt to death, and therefore it is but need that we ſhould be all quickened to proſecute it, with more zeale and fervour, and not by our remiſſeneſſe baſely to betray ſo good a Cauſe, which if not upheld, will certainely turne to the ruine of our ſelves, Religion and all.

Thus having cleered theſe two principall points, concerning the lawfullneſſe and neceſsity of this Covenant, I ſhall briefly in the laſt place, indeavour to anſwer ſuch Objections as are uſually made againſt it, which are eſpecially theſe.

Obj. We are bound by our Oath of Allegiance and the late Proteſtation to defend the Kings perſon, honour, and eſtate, and how then can we enter into this Covenant?

Inſ. This Covenant ties us not to any thing that may be prejudiciall unto them.

Obj: By it we are bound to aſsiſt the Parliament forces againſt the forces raiſed by the King, unto which his perſon is adjoyned, and in aſsiſting againſt his Forces, his perſon may be indangered.

Anſ. Severall Petitions have been tendred to his Majeſty to retire his perſon from their Company, and thereby to ſecure it from danger: If notwithſtanding the ſame, he ſhall ſuffer himſelfe to be over-ruled by evill Counſellors, the guilt will lie upon thoſe which have ſeduced him; it's neceſſary for the Parliament to raiſe forces for the apprehending of thoſe Trayt ors againſt his Majeſtie and the Kingdom, which are protected againſt Juſtice, and who are ſo ſtrong that the ordinary Miniſters of Juſtice cannot lay hold upon them, to bring them to a Legall Tryall, and therefore, as is uſuall in caſes of Rebellion, an Army is ſent againſt them, which the

King

King himself ought to assist, and not endanger his person amongst the other.

But the King commands me to assist his forces, and forbids mee to bee aiding to the other, and I am bound to obey him. *Object.*

The King is to be considered under a double notion or capacity, either as a King, or as a man; as a King, hee can command nothing, but what the Law commands, and then every Subject is bound to obey him therein; but as he is a man his Judgement may bee corrupted, and his passions may mislead him, so that he may command that which is destructive both to himselfe and the Kingdome; and herein he is the best Subject that disobeyes him. The *Amalekite* that said that he killed *Saul*, at his own command, was justly put to death by *David* as a Traytor for that fact, 2 *Sam.* 1. 15. 16. And if a King in his passion shall proffer violence to a mans person, or command another to doe it, I am bound by the Law of nature to defend my selfe against him, and it's no breach of my Oath of Allegeance to doe it. *Answ.*

But taking up of Armes against the King, hath been generally cried downe by the Godly and Learned. *Object.*

1 Here is no taking up of arms against the King but against his evill Counsellors, who have imbittered his spirit against his great and faithfull Counsell, and doe still captivate his person amongst them. And till such bee brought to condigne punishment we can never enjoy either Religion, persons Families, or Estates in safety. *Answ.* 1.

2. Many Learned Divines have affirmed and sufficiently proved both by the Law of God, Nature, and Nations, that if a King turne Tyrant, and oppresse his Subjects in their Religion, Lawes, or Liberties, it is Lawfull for them *vim vi repellere*, as was done by the Netherlanders, and Protestants in *France*: neither was it condemned in Queene *Elizabeth* by our *English* Divines, when she sent auxiliary Forces to both those places to assist them against their owne Kings: and did not King *Charles* also send a Navie for the relieve of *Rochell*, when the poore Protestants were besieged therein, by their owne King: and hath he not also declared the Scots to bee 2.

his

his good and faithfull Subjects: though they took up Armes to defend their Religion, and Liberties against oppression.

In this Covenant we binde our selves to assist all others, in what they shall doe in pursuance thereof:

Quest. What if they doe any unlawfull Act in the pursuance of it?

Answ. In the pursuance thereof doth necessarily imply that it must be done lawfully, and therefore that Word was inserted in the late Protestation, & must be understood here also.

Quest. But how will it appeare that it is lawfull for the Parliament to raise Forces without, much lesse against the Kings consent.

Answ. *An.* This question is so fully, and largely discussed, and the thing proved to be lawfull both in case of Law, and Conscience, by Mr. *Prin* in his third part, and by diverse of our Divines in their Answers to Dr. *Ferne*, that I shall refer the Reader to seeke for satisfaction there, where it may bee had abundantly, if they come with unballanced Judgements, and shut not their eyes against that light which shineth therein.

Thus these usuall objections being answered, I shall adde only thus much, that if there be any which have not already enter'd into this Covenant, seeing the lawfullnes and necessity of it, by this which hath been premised, they will no longer deferre to doe it, but speedily undertake it, with all cheerefulnesse and alacrity, as the men of *Iudah* did in *Asa's* time, 2 *Chron.* 15. 14. 15. and not onely so, but that they will indeavour also to draw as many as possibly they can to doe the like.

The worke is great and needs many hands to help it forward: *Multorum manibus grande levatur onus.*

The Enemies are vigilant and active to disunite us, they cast in many bones of Division: therefore wee have need by this Covenant to sement our selves together; or else we are undone. *Divide, & impera* is the Old Motto.

And lastly, that having once entered into it, wee must resolve with our selvs, that we can never be freed from that tye which it layes upon us, and that therefore wee must be alwayes mindfull of it, & carefull to observe it in every part & branch thereof, that our hearts being knit together in a firme bond of mutuall assistance, and love the God of love, and peace may be with us, and for us. *Amen.*

6.

THE REMONSTRANCE OF THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE GENERALL ASSEMBLY OF SCOTLAND.

TO THE GREAT CONVENTION OF *ESTATES*, NOW PRESENTLY CONVEINED AT *EDINBVRGH*, 22. OF *IVNE*, 1643.

First Printed at *Edinburgh* by *Evan Tyler*, and now reprinted at *London* by *Thomas Paine* and *Matthew Simmons*, *July* 13. 1643.

At Edinburgh the 27. of *June*, 1643.

THe Eſtates of this Kingdom preſently conveined, having read and conſidered the Remonſtrance given in to them by the Commiſſioners from the Generall Aſſembly, As they do returne heartie thanks to the Commiſſioners of the Aſſembly for their timous advertiſement in matters of ſo great importance: So to the effect the ſame may be the better made known to all the members of this Convention, and they thereby more enabled to give their reſolutions therein, Ordains the ſame to be forthwith printed, and that their preſents be Warrant for that effect.

Arch. Primeroſe.

Glot. Conven.

To the right Honourable, the Noblemen, *the Commissioners of Shires and Burrowes, Assembled in the Convention of Estates at* Edinburgh, *June* 22. 1643. *The humble Remonstrance and desires of the Commissioners of the Generall Assembly.*

ACcording to the trust committed unto us by the Generall Assemblie in this time of so many difficulties, and so great danger to Religion and Peace, which have exercised us this time past, and doe still more and more presse us above measure, Wee have given warning to the whole Ministery, how to acquit themselves against all sorts of Enemies to Religion and Peace: Wee have also by Petition made our humble addresse to the Kings most excellent Majestie, for remedying the present evils, and preventing the like in time coming; Wherein we have had the happinesse to be countenanced & assisted by the Lords of His Majesties honourable privie Councell, and the Commissioners for conserving the Peace: But to our great grief, have not found the successe answerable to our Endeavours and Expectation; which is also resented in a late Declaration by the Lords of His Majesties privie Councell, and the Commissioners for conserving the Peace, and is now universally known to this whole Kirk and Kingdome: And therefore having the opportunitie of this Honourable Convention, representing the whole body of the Kingdome, (wherein we humbly acknowledge the wise, timous & mercifull providence of God) we find our selves bound, both as the faithfull Ministers of Christ, and watchmen unto the house of *Israel*, and as Commissioners of the Assembly, set after a speciall manner upon the watch-tower at this time, to give warning from God of the present dangers, and with all earnestnesse in the name of God, to intreat your Lordships for a speedy remedy.

We need not make any Remonstrance to your Lordships of Romish Heresies, Superstition, Usurpation, and Tyranny; nor of the inestimable benefit of th Reformation of Religion, which next unto the first planting of Christian Religion it self, is the greatest mercy that ever God bestowed upon the world, and is no lesse then a resurrection from the dead; nor of the many violent and fraudulent wayes which Antichrist hath used in acquiring, preserving, & propagating his Kingdome, and thereby hath declared himselfe to be Antichrist indeed. The Kirks and Kingdoms of *Britain, France, Germany*, and other places, from the first time of Reformation to this day, bear testimony of his fraud and violence: We onely represent what great and marvellous things the Lord hath done for this Kirk and Kingdom of old, and of late, such as he hath not been pleased to do this day to any Nation under Heaven; which hath been many times matter of humble and thankfull acknowledgement to our selves, of admiration to other reformed Kirks, and of astonishment to the enemies of God; who nevertheless in the invincible malice and hardnesse of their hearts, have ever been since the first beginning of Reformation, according to their own Principles, by all their craft and might opposing and fighting against the work of God. And although by the wisdom, power & good providence of God, they have been many times disappointed of their ends, and their devices turned upon their own heads; yet as enemies of all righteousnesse, and full of all subtilty & mischief, do they never cease to pervert and resist the right wayes of the Lord: which hath been formerly, and is at this day, the cause of many and great dangers to our Religion, & to the peace and happines both of King and Countrey.

When we look upon the records of former times, As we perceive the Kirk of God in this Kingdome in most of her nationall Assemblies to have entred in a deep consideration of the dangers of the true Religion, of the causes whence they did arise, and of the best and most effectuall remedies, whereby they might be removed; So do we find the principall dangers discovered by the generall Assemblies to be the same which at this time threaten our Religion and Peace. One of them was from forrain invasion by Papists in Arms, or preparing forces to come against this Iland; Another was of intestine conspiracies and secret plots of Papists and their assistants within the Kingdom; And the third was, the ordinary resort of Papists to Court, their familiar admittance to the Kings and Queens

Majesties

Majesties Presence, and their preferment to places and imployments of Trust, with the slighting and neglecting of such as were knowne to be zealous of the Truth and Cause of God against Popery and Corruption. In all which they did wisely observe a threefold conjunction: First, That the safety of Religion, and of the Kings person, crown and posterity, were inseparably joyned, That the danger of the one was also the danger of the other, That they did stand and fall together, and had the same common friends and enemies, which was acknowledged and professed by his Majesty that then was, with resolutiō to assist by his power and royall Authoritie the endeavours of the Kirk for preserving of Religion, and his Estate, against all forrain and intestine practices of Papists and Apostates. Secondly, The conjunction of the safety of the two Kingdoms of *Scoland* and *England*, because in one Iland, although under divers Princes, and that the danger from popish forces and conspiracies was cōmon to both, which was the ground of the generall band of this Kingdome the year 1588. and of the common band and union betwixt the two Kingdomes in the year 1585. in their joynt defence of Religion against the common Enemy. Thirdly, the conjunction betwixt the Kirks of *Britain*, and all other Kirks, professing the true Protestant Religion with them, which was the reason of the desire of a generall League and Christian Confederacy of all Princes and States, sincerely professing the Evangel, to be opponed to the ungodly conspiracies of the Enemies of Gods Truth.

Concerning these three sorts of dangers, we may truly say with the Preacher, *That which hath been, is now*, And that not so much by vicissitude and change, as by continuance and succession of the same kinds of dangers to the true Religion, which remaineth alwayes the same, it being built upon the rock, and therefore unalterable by the course of time. Yet the difference is so great, that we ought thereby to be excited to the greater vigilancie: For first, The dangers are by time grown greater then they were before: for now, the Papists are in Armes within the Iland, and that which was feared as a forrain invasion, is now become intestine, felt within the bowels of *England*, and is at the distance but of a few dayes march from our selves; And therefore in divers respects more dangerous to both Kingdoms, then the Armado, or any other forrain invasion; The hatred of brethren being the strongest, and the resistance being by division made the weaker: Now, the secret plots and inward combinations of Papists and Malignants, which have been lately discovered, and are more particularly known to your Lo. then

tous, are much aided and assisted, By those of the Prelaticall Faction, which answerably unto their practises make open profession to joyn-ther with the Papists then with us; By Maligoants & Dis-covenanters, who from no zeal to any Religion, but that they may serve their own particular projects, do joyn their counsels with the Papists, and really serve their ends; And by others, who have suffered themselves to be drawn away, and divided from the straight way wherein they were wont comfortably to walk; not upon designe, but by the cunning of Malignants, by enticements of Societie, and by naturall Relations, to co-operate with them; who may well participate with them in their pains, and (if they return not quickly to their first love) in their punishments also: But if they consider the intention of their Authors and Leaders, can have small hopes to have any part or share in their intended rewards: Now, Papists, Prelates, and Malignants, are not onely about the Kings and Queens Majesties, but also are reputed to be the best Subjects, the chief supporters of the Crown, and maintainers of Royall Dignity; And such as oppose Papistrie and Prelacie are conceived to be either enemies, or not so good Subjects: Now, the bands of the conjunction of the King and Reformed Religion are but slender, and a contrary way of safety by Papists is provided and preferred: And now, contrary to the Proceedings of all our Assemblies, to the resolution of the convention of estates in the yeer 1585. and to all the Remonstrances and Declarations of this Kirk and Kingdom, which have been many, since the beginnings of our troubles, no danger is apprehended to our Religion by prevailing of Papists or Papistry in England: Against which, as being contrary both to sense and reason, the Remonstrance of the classes of Zeland to the Estates there, speaketh thus, *We esteeme the destruction and weaking of the Reformed Churches in England, to be the beginning of the ruine of all the Reformed Churches in whole Europe, specially of Scotland, which shall not possibly escape the same estate of Religion with England*; And their letters presently sent unto us, speak to the same sense. And there be three too pregnant and publick witnesses, The invasion 1588. the Powder-treason Novemb 5. and the Service book 1637. all which were intended against the Kirks of both Kingdoms, either immediately, or mediately, and by consequence. And thus your Lordships may perceive in all these considerations the former dangers of our Religion to be at this time not onely continued, but mightily encreased. Secondly, there is another difference, that not onely the old dangers are grown to a greater height, but new dangers unknown

known in former times are multiplied against us: Armes are taken up by Papists, and the Popish party, under pretext of service to the Kings Majestie: The Queen still using all means with his Majestie, with the Subjects, and with Strangers, to promove and settle her own profession against the Reformed Religion: Our hopes expressed in our Supplication, of disbanding of Popish forces in England, and of means to be used for the Queens conversion, all frustrated: Papists through their successe in Ireland, their power in England, and their expectation in this Kingdom, daily growing to a greater strength, number and insolencie: No execution of the Laws against Papists, although excommunicated and denounced Rebels; Whence it is, that they still reset Jesuites and Seminarie Priests, They travell where they will, armed with Carabins and Pistols, to the terrour and seducing of poore people, and speak what they please of Religion, and of the present troubles; And if any of them happen to apprehend danger here, they flie into England, and find not onely shelter, but advancement among the Papists there in arms: And our Covenant (which is in the own nature, and was in effect in former times a fortresse and defence against Papistrie, and against defection and division among our selves, is, to the great dishonor of God, to the scandall, danger, and detriment of Religion, many wayes violated, neglected, and in some clauses quite forgotten, as if it had never been sworn nor subscribed: Resolutions have been taken by common consent of the Generall Assembly, of their Commissioners, of the Lords of privie Councell, and the Conservers of Peace, with the approbation of all the Presbyteries of the Land, for sending of Petitions to the Kings Majestie, and Declarations to the Parliament, for Unitie in Religion, and Uniformitie of Church-government, as a necessarie mean for the preservation of our Religion and Peace: Yet contrary to the Covenant, some have suffered themselves to be divided and drawn away by suggestions or allurements from these common resolutions; Have cast in Lets and Impediments to stay and hinder the same, so farre have they been from suppressing, or (as need did require) from making dangerous and divisive motions knowen, that they might have been timously obviated; Have wrested words of the Covenant by their sinister interpretations to their own ends, quite contrary to the intention of the Covenant; And whether in their meetings and combinations they have used any other mean directly contrary, or indirectly prejudiciall to the oath of the Covenant, their own hearts know, and the Searcher of hearts will make known in his own time. It were a wonder if Papists were not like

them-

themselves, working according to their own grounds and wonted professes, for the liberty of their profession, at this time which seemeth to smile upon them, and to flatter them with the promises of so many advantages: But should it not seem as great a wonder, that any amongst us should be so unlike to themselves, and to that which they professed to be at the renewing of their Covenant, that (although it may be, different in intentions) they are wittingly become fellow-workers with Papists, in hindring the desire of the Reformation in England, and hazarding the settled Reformation here. When we consider the wayes of God, who often in his justice punisheth sin with sin, we have reason to fear this to be a spirituall judgement for the neglect of the worship of God, common blasphemies, prophanation of the Lords day, unrighteousnesse, deceit, malignity, adulteries, incests, all kinds of uncleannesse and excesse of all sorts, with the forgetting of the affliction of Gods people in other places, which bring on other sins, and threaten us more then all the former dangers, we having of late so solemnly promised to live soberly, righteously, & godly.

God hath honoured your Lordships, and this whole Kingdom represented by you, to do great things for his Name; when now we have endured the heat of the day, let us not weary in the evening, lest we lose our reward: Your noble and worthy Predecessors had their own troubles and trials in former ages, the present are yours by divine providence. Great things are expected from this Kingdom for the benefit of all the Reformed Kirks, especially of the Kirk of England, unto which we have the voice of the Classes of Zeland (who in respect of our near relation are but strangers unto England) at this very time inviting and exciting us; And God hath given us from by-past experience, great encouragements for afterward: Faithfulnesse in the work unto which God calleth you at this time, shall be honour to the Kingdom, safety to the Kirk, comfort in life and death, and a Crown of glory in the world to come, with which this world hath nothing of any weight or worth to compare.

All our desire at this time is, that your Lordships in your wisdom would consider the aforenamed dangers, and after they are found to be not imaginarie or conceited, but true and reall above any thing that we have exprest, your Lordships would against all differences and divisions, unite your selves heartily and strongly in the cause of God, that it may once appear to his Majestie, that our late Petition for Vnitie in Religion, and Vniformitie of Church-government, hath proceeded from the united affections of this whole Kingdom. And that your Lordships may be pleased to think upon the sure and most effectuall remedies for the preservation of our Religion, which is well known to your Lordships, and hath been often expressed in our Petitions, Remonstrances and Declarations, cannot possibly be preserved, unlesse the condition of Religion in his Majesties other Dominions be seriously taken to heart. And herein as your Lordships shall be pleased to require of us, we shall most willingly contribute what we our selves can conceive, or have learned from the proceedings of the Generall Assemblies in the like cases. Like as we do now most earnestly beseech God to assist your Lo. by the good spirit of Counsell and Peace, to cause the light of his glorious Gospel to shine in your hearts, and we shall your meeting with a peaceable and comfortable conclusion, to the enjoying of all the people of God.

A. Ker Cl. Commiss. Gen. Ass. FINIS.

7

THE IRISH TREATY,

OR

The laſt and beſt Intelligence from IRELAND;

Being a perfect Relation of the moſt remarkable occurrents in that Kingdome, ſince the Lord *Taffes* going over thither with a Commiſſion from his Majeſty to Treat with the Rebels there.

In which is contained an exact Relation of the ſaid Treaty at Trimme, between the Marqueſſe of Ormond, and Sir Francis Willoughby, *for his Majeſty, and the Lord* Neuterfield *and others in the behalfe of the Rebels.*

As alſo a continuation of the victorious ſucceſſe of the Proteſtant forces in ſeverall parts of Ireland, ſince the breaking off and concluſion of the ſaid Treaty.

In a letter to the Lady *Rogers.*

13 July.

London, Printed by *T. Harper* for *H Shepheard*, and are to be ſold by *G. Tomlinſon*, at his ſhop on Ludgate-hill. 1643.

The Iriſh Treaty.

Or,

The laſt and beſt News from *Ireland*.

Madam,

MY humble duty preſented unto your Ladiſhip: I doe admire that I have received no Letters from you ſince the 14. of March laſt paſt, having ſince that time written above twenty letters to your Ladiſhip, and ſtill being ignorant whether they went ſafe or no, the want of an anſwer poſſeſt me of a jealouſie, that it did no goe well with your Ladiſhip, (I meane in the fruition of your health) but being very inquiſitive of your welfare, I had the happineſſe to heare of you by *Thomas Harris* a Marchant of Dublin, who, as he told me ſaw you in good health in the new Exchange about the firſt of June, which

encouraged me to practiſe my pen in writing theſe following newes, from this bleeding and gaſping Kingdome.

The Lord *Taffe*, having come from His Majeſty, with a Commiſſion to Treat with the Rebels for Peace, and ſhewing his Authority unto the Lords Juſtices, deſired their Licence to goe to Kilkenny, where the Rebels ſit in Parliament, which was granted accordingly, in regard the Kings Broade Seale was tending, and commanding to that purpoſe. The newes of this Meſſage being poſted into our eares, who were pertakers of the unparalleld Cruelties committed by the Rebells againſt us, whereof your Ladyſhip was an eye witneſſe, ſtroke us altogether into an aſtoniſhment, when we rather expected a full revenge of our wrongs and miſeries, with a ſatisfaction of the loſſe of our goods, and a hundred thouſand ſoules of our brethren, who periſht in this Rebellion, then any clemency to be extended to the actors of our woe: but well, *Taffe* goes to Kilkenny, where he is nobly entertained by the Rebells, and ſix dayes after, he ſent Propoſitions to the State, to this effect:

Firſt, that they ſhould have a free Parliament, with their Roman Prelates, and dignitaries to ſit in the Houſe.

Secondly, that the meanes of the Biſhops, and Proteſtant Miniſters ſhould be reſtored to their Clergy.

Thirdly, that no ſatisfaction ſhould be demanded by the Britiſh, for any loſſes they ſuſtayned.

Fourthly,

Fourthly, that any plantation taken from the Iriſh within theſe twenty yeeres, ſhould be of no effect, but the Land ſo planted to be confirm'd upon the lawfull Heire.

Fifthly, that no Lord Deputy ſhould bee Governour of that Kingdome, but two Lords Juſtices, whereof the one ſhould be Iriſh, the other Engliſh.

Theſe Propoſitions being read, the Marqueſſe of Ormond was appointed to Treate with them; the appointed place was *Trym*, a garriſon Towne of ours, in the County of Weſtmeath, to which place reſorted from the Rebels the day appointed, as Commiſſioners: The Lord *Nenterfield*, The Lord Viſcount of *Germanſtowne*, Sir *John Mac Crah*, and *O Carrall*; ſo having met, The Rebels inſiſted very much upon the former Propoſitions, which the Marqueſſe of Ormond, and Sir *Francis Willoughby* withſtood very ſtoutly.

The Treaty held three weeks, during which time, the Rebells confiding in the greatneſſe of the Lord *Taffe*, came into Dublin daily ſo familiar, and in ſuch multitudes, no man daring to controle them, pretending the Kings protection: inſomuch, that we were in a deadly fear, that the Caſtle of Dublin ſhould be ſurpriſed, and our throats cut in a night.

The Marqueſſe of *Ormond* a weeke before the Parly ſent to the North for foure thouſand Scots to come to his aſſiſtance, which ſuddenly marched on with all the haſte that poſſibly could be; the Rebells never dreaming of ſuch a

thing, otherwiſe I believe they would not ſtand ſo obſtinate on their high termes.

Sir *Francis Willoughby* underſtanding by letters that the Scots were within two dayes march, told the Lord Marqueſſe of it, who very joyfull of the newes, bid the Rebels ſhift for themſelves, and that he ſcorned to treat any more with them: and upon this he returned to Dublin, and is now in the field, having divided his army into three bodies. The firſt commanded by himſelfe, the ſecond by Sir *Francis Willoughby*, and the third by *Coronel Craford*, who lately ſent to Dublin two thouſand Cowes from the Rebels, which he tooke in the County of Wickloe, where he is at this preſent, which was a joyfull comfort to us, having before that, leane freſh Beefe ſold for Eight pence a pound, but our joy did ſtill increaſe more and more: for upon the necke of this happineſſe, Sir *Francis Willoughby* ſent from the County of Longford and Cavan, two thouſand and ſeven hundred Cowes, and fourteene hundred Sheep, which made things ſo plentifull amongſt us, that we ſtand in a good poſture of defence, and ſtrongly reſolved to bee fully revenged upon the Rebells, notwithſtanding any command comming to the contrary whatſoever. We ſhall have Winter Barly heere ſhortly, to make bread, before all our Beefe bee ſpent. At the writing hereof, Newes came to the State, that the Marqueſſe of Ormond had given a great overthrow to the Rebels, in the County of Carlo, at Caſtle Dermot, and got two peeces of Ordnance from them, and killed many of their chiefe Commanders, but I cannot, as yet, certifie their names, nor number,

ber, which I ſhall doe by the next conveniency. In the mean time, I reſt,

Your Ladiſhips faithfull friend and ſervant,

George Brimpahir.

Dublin, July 2. 1643.

This is entred in Stationers Hall Booke, according to order.

Numb. 3.

K. PP. Londo

THE PARLIAMENT SCOUT:

Communicating His Intelligence TO THE KINGDOME.

From *Thursday* the 6. of *July*, to *Thursday* the 13. of *July*. 1643.

THe condition and proceedings of the Lord Generalls Army still challenging the first place, and from thence our Scout brings us information, that my Lord in his passage after the enemy made no stay at *Alisbury*, or any place untill he came neer to them, which when he was within few miles of, he understood that the Royall Army was resolved to give him battell, which was not alittle joy to his heart, to think that he should once more encounter them in a faire Field by day light: (having for the present set aside the grosse neglect of some Captaines of Troopes who (contrary to expresse charge given, to be alway watching on horse back in the night) had suffered their horse and men to be taken prisoners thirty and fourty at a time, themselves being in bed, who would sure have been hanged for example sake, had time permitted, as one was for running away, which course had it been sooner taken, had been very good for the Army, and prejudiciall to the enemy; some kinde of pity, the proverbe is, spoiles a City; and so it will an Army) he prepared all things in readinesse for the fight, not doubting but a Gentleman

 would

would be as good as his word, and he was assured that Prince *Rupert* the German, had the word in English, that he would fight with my Lord and put an end to the businesse in one day: But whilst his Excellency stood in expectation of a charge from his enemy, he understood by his Scouts that they marched away in a hast towards *Banbury* and *Daintrey*. This their unexpected flight certainly did much trouble my Lord, whose expectations doubtlesse were to have seen that power dissipated, and to have sent the Houses many Trophees of his Victory; but God will not have the worke yet ended; and now imagine his Excellencies sad and discontented spirit, as whose would not, thus ruminating what he should do; cannot we force the enemy to fight, will he still go at his pleasure, must his poore Country men, for whose Religion and Liberties he took up Armes, be still subject to the Rapine, Plunderings and Robberies of their enemies: what shall he do? Why did not some of those Counsellours and Souldiers about him advise him to get sooner a flying Army that might have forst them to fight? That he can no longer indure these delayes, there is no reason that he should suffer any more of the money of the Cities of *Londons* and others the People of *England* to be spent; if he cannot force the enemy to a battell (and now steps in some unhappy friend, and saith, send to the house of Parliament to with them to send to the King an Honourable accord, or else to put a sudden end by a battell, that so the poor Countries may not be undone) which none can be gainers by; this unexpected Message, the Commons took into serious consideration on *Tuesday*, and cast about all that might be, how they might Answer my Lords desire, but finding that by a Proclamation of his Majesties they were declared no House, they could not see how to send to his Majesty; and having declared they would send my Lord five hundred horse with all speed that he might for time to come the better pursue his enemies; they committed his letter to have an answer returned him: The Lords also took the businesse into Consideration, and by no means would hear of any propositions untill that Proclamation which makes them no House be recalled; and the Houses now sitting be declared a Parliament, the Lord Generall hath his head quarter at *Brickhill* where he lies conveniently to relieve any of the Garrisoned Towns as *Northampton*, *Coventry*, *Alisbury* or *Warwicke*, to keepe the enemy from going Easterly; there is many come to him lately, a good round summe, and would go a great way were there fewer officers, and more common men, which its possible time may produce, the enemy its questionable which way he will bend his course, or who shall next be plundered by him, some conceive he will goe towards *Newarke* to joyne with the Queens forces, others that

that they will not go ſo far from Oxford, though they need not feare that City being beſieged, it being well fortified, victualled, manned, and the fields about it ſtored with Cattle of all ſorts, of which they ſpend ſparingly, and watch them narrowly, being the beſt husbands, and carefulleſt of any you have heard of that come ſo lightly by what they have: We forgot to tell you the laſt week the true reaſon that the horſe that went againſt the enemy at Buckingham did not encounter the enemy, it was through the indiſcretion of the forlorne hope, who though commanded by an old experienced Commander, marched ſo much faſter then the body, that before the body could come up to them, they were ſurpriſed. This unhappy accident was not thought fit to be revenged at that time.

For the Weſterne buſineſſe we were made the laſt weeke to beleeve by our Scout, that *Exeter* was in probability relieved, but like an Idle fellow he went not far enough to know the truth: As for the Weſterne Armies under the command of Sir *William Waller* and Sir *Ralph Hopton*, our Scout aſſures us they have had generall encounters, and becauſe there are ſeverall Relations go abroad, and that from both ſides, telling that each had a great victory; you ſhall have the moſt punctuall Relation that our Scout can make, who was in the fights, and hath had diſcourſe with ſeverall men that were in the fight on Sir *Ralphs* Party. And firſt, he tells us, That on Munday the enemy fell upon a Quarter of Sir *William Wallers* at Mountaine *Farleigh*, with his whole Armie, which after ſome three houres fight, our men quitted, and retreated like Souldiers, having gained one Colour from the enemy, the loſſe on our ſide inconſiderable: The next day the enemy drew out within a mile and halfe of *Bath*, and we ſeized on a hill over againſt them, the valley betweene us was narrow and ſteep, of difficult acceſſe for either ſide, we faced one the other moſt part of the day, at laſt Sir *William Waller* drew out two Peeces of Ordnance, which was fired upon them: The firſt ſhot lighted amongſt them, killed an horſe, which made them draw further off: towards evening they retreated to *Marſfield*. Captaine *Thin* and ſome others were taken priſoners. On Wedneſday in the morning, upon diſcovery that the enemy was marching, we advanced from the hither part of *Lanſdowne*, where we had quartered in the field into the farther end thereof: which looketh toward *Friſney Hill*: when we were drawne up thither, we might diſcern the body of the enemy marching toward

Togge hill, the way to Briſtoll, they drew up in a follow-field adjoyning to the way, where after ſome haſt made, they began to retreat againe toward Coleaſton, whereupon we ſent a party of horſe under the Command of Colonell *Carr*, and major *Vandruſh*, to charge them, who performed bravely, and routed their wing of Horſe, but our reſerve not comming up ſoone enough, the enemy rallied, and fell upon our horſe, and made them retreate unto our body, whereupon the enemy advanced up the hill towards us with a great deale of reſolution, their multitude of Muskatiers making their way amongſt hedges and buſhes, our Ordnance plaid upon them, but did little execution: The enemy was no ſooner come to the top of the hil, but our horſe charged there, and forced them downe againe, but the Muſquetiers out of the hedges made our men fall off, which they did orderly, and returned into their former place in field, then the enemy marched up with a full body of Horſe, flanked with Pikes and Muſquetiers, and our Horſe falling upon them againe, we had here a bloody fight, our Horſe charged with all diſadvantage that could be, not onely againſt Horſe, but Pikes and ſhot: as for our Muſquetiers, they did well in lining the ſtraw wall and hedges on our ſide, but they would not be got into the field by any meanes; we were ſix Regiments of Horſe, every one of them came up to the charge, and ſome of them charged thrice; Sir *Arthur Haſlerig* and Colonell *Burhill* did moſt bravely, both of them were wounded, the one with a pike in his thigh, the other ſhot in his wreſt: Major *Dowell* did likewiſe paſſing well, the fight continued without intermiſſion from ten a clock in the morning till night parted us, we muſt do our enemy right, they fought gallantly, about midnight both Armies retreated; we to *Bath*, they to *Marſhfield*, we have cauſe to praiſe the Lord, our loſſe was ſo little, and ought not to thinke upon it without admiration, we cannot yet hear of twenty ſlaine, the onely man was Major *Strabon*, and one Lieutenant, two Coronets, we regained two ſmall Iron pieces from the enemie, the next morning the enemies Magazine took fire, blew up two Captains, ſpoiled twenty more, and among them Sir *Ralph Hopton*, who is in a miſerable condition, what number they loſt in the field is yet unknown unto us, in regard they buried their dead, only by the number of their Officers we conceive they cannot be few; we are informed from *Marſhfield* and *Calon*, which is a little more then a mile from it, that there is ſlain a ſon of my Lord of *Hartford*, Sir *Bevill Greenevile*, Lieutenant Colonell *Ward*,

Ward, Serjeant Major *Howard*, Major *Lower*, Captaine *Basset*, Captain *James*, Captaine *Cornisham* and four more of the ſame ranke, there were wounded Earle of *Carnarvan*, the Lord *Mohun*, both ſhot, as we hear, Sir *Ralph Hopton* was run through the arme with a ſword.

This dayes worke being over, in which we believe all thoſe that had a minde to fight, had enough of it before the action ceaſed, and to ſpeake truth, it was reſolutely performed on both ſides: the Hoptonians fought as if each that ſurvived were to be made a Baron or a knight, and thoſe of Sir *William Wallers* ſide fought as if it had been for their birthright, the Religion and Liberties of them and their poſterity, eſpecially thoſe Londoners that Sir *Arthur Haſlerig* had downe with him, who like Romanes, fought with undaunted courage as long as light would afford to diſtinguiſh friend from foe.

Thurſday, about eight in the morning a party was ſent out to ſee where the enemy was, and what he did, which returned: Thoſe that were met with this day, and came from the enemy, talke of many hundreds of the enemies being ſlaine, ſome affirming 1500. but its more probable that there were more ran away by far, then was ſlaine; For by Letters from all the parts about we underſtand, that they that came to aſſiſt my Lord Hartford, rather with their lookes then their ſwords, when they ſaw men lie dead, and the pellets flie, ran and rid away by ten and twenty of a Company, as if the devill had been behinde them.

Little was done on Friday, on Saturday a Meſſenger came to Sir *William Waller* from the Earle of Hartford, who deſired Sir *William*, that if any action were hereafter between the Armies, that his men might give Quarter:

Sir *William* replyed, that if any of his men ſhould refuſe to give Quarter, ſo barbarouſly did he conceive of the action, that he would quarter him, making him an example to others, and ſo diſpatcht the Meſſenger, ſending with him a Trumpeter to my Lord of Hartford, with a meſſage to this effect, That in regard the Army of his Lordſhip did plunder and ſpoile the Countries, that my Lord would give him Battle, and in regard his Lordſhip wanted Powder, if he pleaſed, he would ſend him ſome: when the Trumpeter drew neere, hee obſerved a retreate of the Enemy, which Sir *William* underſtanding, made after with all ſpeed, fell upon them about Chippenham, who were ſtrucken with ſuch a feare, that about twelve hundred of them laid downe their Armes, craved Quarter, becomming priſoners, about twelve hundred more fled to the Vize, where they are beſieged by Sir *William*, having not above three Barrels of Powder, and eight Waggons which was comming to the Marqueſſe was intercepted: and as Sir *William* was buſie in taking this Towne, hee underſtood that the Lord *Craſords* comming with a Regiment of horſe, about five or ſixe hundred to their reliefe, Sir *William* ſent out a party againſt them, who, as ſome of his owne Souldiers affirme, are alſo ſurpriſed, my Lord himſelfe being priſoner, which we are the more moved to believe, becauſe we underſtand that my Lord *Wilmot*, with foure Regiments of horſe, being advanced out of Oxford for his reliefe, is returned back upon information, as is conceived, of his totall defeat: And thus hath God been pleaſed to Crowne the endeavours of thoſe two Worthies, Sir *William*, and Sir *Arthur*, whoſe conſtant action and courage for the Religion and Liberties of this Kingdome, hath appeared inferiour to none:

The

The God of heaven preſerve their lives to the end of this worke, and give them and their poſterity the fruit of their endeavours.

For the Army of the Lord *Fairefaxe*, and the State of buſineſſe in the North, there is little of certaintie, onely we account the gaine of Sir *John Hotham* arrived at *London* equall with our diſaſter in the defeate of the Lord *Fairefaxe*, and eſpecially in regard, both the Lord *Fairefaxe* and his ſonne are ſafe at *Hull*, who doubtleſſe will by ſupplies from ſeverall friends become formidable ſuddenly; and it were to bee wiſhed, that thoſe powers ſent by the *Londoners* to *New-Caſtle* might for the better incouragement have their perſonall preſences along with them: its true, the Lord *New-caſtle* hath a great power, either for feare or love, or both, but it may be they may have worke enough ſhortly; for according to the beſt Relations, the *Scots* are in a good readineſſe to come to give their helping hand for the deſtruction of that Popiſh Army, and waite onely the arrivall of the Commiſſions from the Parliament of *England*, who are now going, they having beene aſſembled many dayes; when they made their firſt appearance in the Aſſembly, they had Letters of Approbation from his Majeſtie, provided, that they did not conſent to, nor indeavour the raiſing of Armes for the reliefe of *Englands* Parliament: They have rejected foure Members upon diſcovery of ſome inſtructions or corruptions from the Court of *England*, of which foure, one is Sir *Douglas*, one that was a Commiſſioner for them hither, who was conversed here with Court-Holywater, they have had ſomewhat to doe with one that ſpake ſome words againſt my Lord Chancellour when he was at *Oxford*.

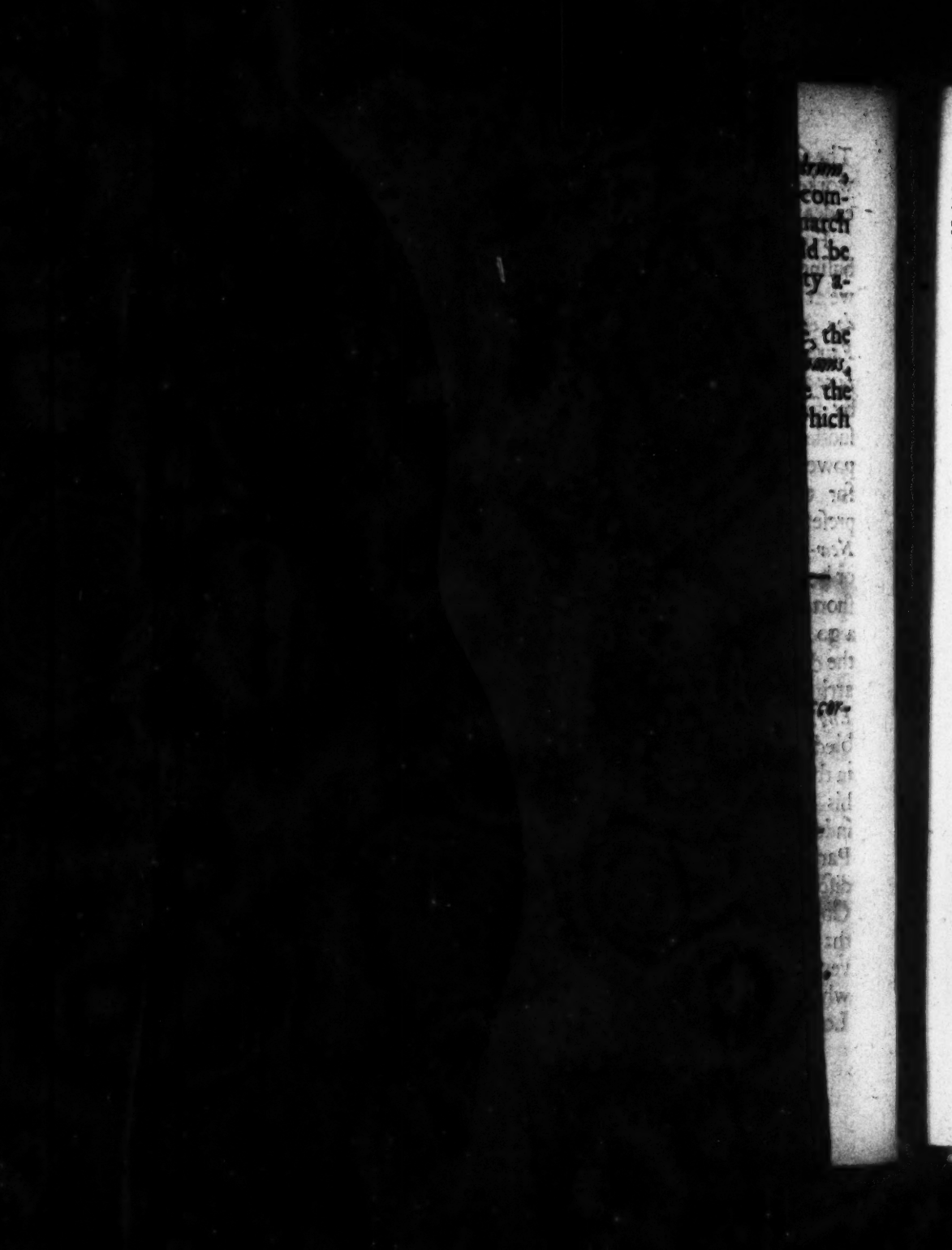
As for that Army commanded by Sir *John Meldrum*, we heare little of it, ſave that it waites the Queenes comming with her *Newarke* power, who is upon her march at *Burton* upon *Trent*; the Army of Sir *John* would be glad of ſome moneyes, for it is a ſcarce commodity amongſt them.

The Committee at *Hull* have ſent up to the Houſe, the Examination upon Oath of a Servant of Capt. *Hothams*, which fully proves a conſtant intercourſe betweene the Queene and Sir *John Hotham*, and his ſonne, for which they are like to receive according to their merits.

This is Licenſed and Entred into the Hall book according to order.

Printed by *G. Biſhop*, and *R. White*.

Sir
Sir
Sir
The



9

Sir *William Wallers* Victory.
Sir *Ralph Hoptons* Destiny.
Sir *John Hothams* Treachery.
The Oxonians misery.

Numb. 7



WILLIAM a Conquerour.

Mercurius Civicus.

LONDONS

INTELLIGENCER.

OR,

Truth impartially related from thence to the whole Kingdome, to prevent mis-information.

From *Thursday, July* 6. to *Thursday, July* 13. 1643.

THe various reports that have been spread abroad the latter end of the last, and the beginning of this weeke concerning the successe of the truly valiant souldier Sir *William Waller*, and the dubious relations that have been made of it, have so much the more raised the expectations of many people, to heare the certainty of it, (uncertainties being usually incident to be related concerning actions of this consequence) which though perhaps I may not relate so exactly as is expected, yet I shall impart some-

thing of the truth and reality of paſſages in thoſe parts, as neere as I can credibly enforme my ſelfe, which may give ſome ſatisfaction to the impartiall and indifferent reader, till a more perfect relation ſhall come to my hand.

By Letters from *Briſtol*, dated *July* 8, it is informed to this effect: There was a ſhort skirmiſh on munday laſt, between ſome of Sir *William Wallers*, and ſome of Sir *Ralph Hoptons* Forces, which continued about foure houres; in which conflict Sir *William Wallers* forces tooke of the Hoptoniſts a Lieutenant-Colonell, a Serjeant Major, three Coronets, and Colours, 79 priſoners, 140 Horſe, and killed 30 with the loſſe of onely one man.

But the moſt remarkable and bloody encounter that hath been yet fought betweene two potent parties, was on Wedneſday, *July* 5. neere *Tougg*-hill, two miles from *Marſh*-field, and 8 miles from *Briſtoll*, the name of the place doth well concurre with the nature of the action; for beſides the former fights which were, one on Munday, and another on Tueſday, which continued from 12 at noone till night, in which ſome report Sir *Iames Thyn*, with 40 Horſe, and many others of quality to be taken priſoners by Sir *William Wallers* forces. The next day being Wedneſday Sir *Ralph Hopton* fell upon thoſe of the Parliaments forces that were ranſacking of the Hoptonians that were ſlaine the day before (being about 700) and killed divers of them; upon which Sir *William Waller* ſent out a great party, and ſlew and tooke many of them priſoners, and ſome report 4 peeces of Ordnance. The certainty of the number on both ſides is not knowne, but is conceived there were not leſſe then 2000, whereof the greateſt part were Hoptonians, and not above 2 or 300. of Sir *William Wallers*. The men of note that were ſlain this wedneſday, are as followeth, *viz.* the Lord Marqueſſe of *Hartfords* ſonne, Sir *Bevill Greenvill*, Lievtenant-Colonell *Ward*, Serjeant-Major *Howard*, Sergeant Major *Lower*, Captaine *Baſſet*, Captain *Iames*, Captaine *Rainsborrow*. Sir *Ralph Hopton*, the Lord *Mohun*, and the Lord *Carnarvan* being wounded, with divers others of note. There were during this onſet two Captaines blown up with powder, which hapned by chance, and 20 men more hurt, with it whereof the new Baron of *Glaſſenbury* was one, whoſe head is reported to be ſwoln, and ſome ſay he is made blind with it; this is moſt certaine that the Cavaliers confeſſe themſelves routed in this action for want of ammunition, whereupon they gave out towards the end of the fight, that the Lord *Digby* was comming from *Oxford* with

with great ſtore of Ammunition, and 2000 l. in money, to ayd them. But notwithſtanding theſe their boaſtings, and the triumphs and exultations that were uſed at *Oxford* on Saturday laſt, for this victory as they ſay, obtained againſt Sir *William Waller*; and for another victory, as they pretend, obtained by the Earle of *Newcaſtle*, againſt the Lord *Fairfax* in *Yorkeſhire*, for which they had ringing of Bels, and Bon-fires there; yet it is credibly beleeved, that their Generall, or any other for him, will not be able to recrute his Forces, which are now ſo diſſipated, and impaired by this overthrow, that ſcarce any conſiderable number of them are together, ſo that thoſe parts will much rejoyce to be rid of ſuch plundering companions, who had before this fight taken 7 or 8 Wain-loads of Wares, which were going to *Briſtol*; and did daily commit many ſuch like robberies and plunderings, undoing many of his Majeſties beſt ſubjects in thoſe parts, of which the Countries doe complaine much more then they are forced to doe of the Parliament Souldiers, by a fictionate pamphlet, printed at *Oxford*, and entituled, *Mercurius Ruſticus*, on purpoſe to abuſe the world with falſities and untruths.

Something may here alſo be adviſed, by which great advantage may come to the Parliaments proceedings, if carefully looked after in theſe and other parts; and that is this, that there be ſpeciall eare taken what Warrants are granted to carry Powder and other Ammunition into any place whatſoever, for that foure Barrels of Powder being lately deſigned for *Briſtol*, the Wain-man taking *Salisbury* in his way, and unlading ſome part of his goods there, the Powder was ſeized on by an Aledraper of that City: ſo that in ſtead of ſupplying the Parliaments Forces, it will prove very much to their diſ-advantage. The like courſe is alſo taken in ſome other parts: for ſome that were appointed to carry Piſtols to *Northampton*, loſt their way, and were carried to *Oxford*. It is alſo obſerved, that there are ſome Carriers which carry things from *London* to *Salisbury*, *Southampton*, *Nubery*, and eſpecially from hence to *Worceſter*, and from thence convey all manner of proviſions to the Cavaliers at *Oxford*; and from *Oxford* they alſo bring *Mercurius Aulicus*, and the Declarations and Proclamations printed there, and ſo diſperſe them into the ſeverall places aboveſaid, and into other parts of the Kingdome.

The mention of theſe things may cauſe the more caution to be taken for the preventing of them hereafter.

On Friday laſt there was ſent down from the City to his Excellencies

Army 25000 l. which was conducted by Collonell *Harveys* Troops and is safely brought to the Army.

The Lord *Gray* Son to the Earle of *Stamford*, Sir *John Meldrom* and Colonell *Cromwell* having left a sufficient garrison at *Nottingham* and *Leicester*: joyned with *Warwickshire-men*: and hearing that the Queen was advancing toward *Ashby de-la-zouch*, sent out a very considerable party to meete her: and had some small skirmish with her; tooke some prisoners, beate the rest back, and as it is reported shee is now gone into *Staffordshire*.

A Message was sent from *Oxford* to the Lord Generall, to propound some propositions to the King, but hee would not without consent of Parliament, to which effect, the Lord Generall hath sent a Letter to both Houses this present munday, to advise about some propositions to be sent to his Majesty. But they finding the ill successe of the late Treaty, have resolved not to send or Treate but to goe one in this their just defence, in securing this Kingdom from violence and wrong: for how should we trust Papists and Jesuits, *Irish* rebels, prophane *French-men*, curlers, swearers, if they should get the better hand of us, what evil would they not doe, as we have too much experience of in divers places where they have beene? It makes me remember the word of *Abraham* to *Sarah* (surely God is not in this place, therefore they will kill me for thy sake) as if he should have said where the feare of God is not, there is no wickednesse unatempted.

His Excellency the Earle of *Essex* is removed to *Buckingham*, *Woborne* and *Brickhill* upon the edge of *Bedford*, for preventing the Kings Forces, from going Northwards to plunder and spoyle those Countries, which is thought to be the things they chiefely aime at, now they are forced to come from *Oxford* for want of provision, and great store of them dy of severall Diseases.

Prince *Rupert* with the greatest part of the King horses, being this munday *July* 10th at, and neere *Stony-stratford* in *Buckinghamshire*, but being pursued by my Lord Generall the Earle of *Essex*, it is thought he must returne to his old rendevouze at *Oxford*.

From aboard the Ship called the Imployment in the narrow Seas, *June* 30. It is informed that six of our Ships came lately before *Burlington*, and *Scarborow* Castle: we shot against the Castle and the Castle and Towne with violence against us, but we praise God, no men of us received any hurt by them, and I verily believe, That if we had land

Forces

Forces for our assistance we might easily take the Towne and Castle; we heare there are some Coale-ships are to goe from *London* with forces to besiege *Newcastle*, we could wish that they might be sent with all the possible speed that may be, for that delay of time may much advantage the Enemy; for first, if this opportunity be let slip this Summer, it wil be very difficult to doe any thing in Winter-season, 2 The Townsmen of *Newcastle* are now in a kinde of mutiny for want of their Trading, and now is the fittest time (if ever) to joyne with them, they have had a sufficient share of prerogative, and finde it a burthen too heavy for them to undergoe.

It is further informed from the Towne of *Newcastle*, That the Earle of *Newcastle* hath put out a Proclamation, by the Kings Order which was lately read in all Churches in the Northerne parts, to declare the Parliament and their adherents to be rebels, and to seise upon their estats and to destroy their persons. The printing presse in *York* doth much hurt in those parts, being wholy imployed in venting invectives against the proceedings of the Parliament, so that this presse and the foure presses of *Hall* and *Lichfield*, at *Oxford* are very great hinderances of the Parliaments and Kingdomes affaires, and doe as much prejudice to them (as any of the Cavaliers Armies) by infecting the Country people in all places where they are dispersed, seducing them by falsities and deceits to betray their Religion and Liberties, and all that should be deare unto them by giving assistance unto the popish-forces.

And having so fit an occasion, it will not be unnecessary to give the world an account of the affaires at *Oxford*, which are informed thence to this effect; This place which should have beene the wel-spring and fountaine of learning, is now become the spring and fountaine of all profanesse and uncleannesse. Here are lewd strumpets which goe under the name of parsons, and one of them goes most comely in mans apparrell; they lie with the great Commanders sometimes with one, and sometimes with other: if the Wals of Saint *Maries* parish could speake, they would cry out to God for vengeance upon these and the like sodomitish actions.

There dayly come many Irish Rebels from severall parts in *Wales*, unto the Cavaliers at *Oxford*, and the Oxonian Cavaliers would make the world beleeve that there is no Popish Army there, for in a Proclamation set forth in the Kings name, dated at *Oxford* June 20 forbidding the taking of the Covenant lately entred into by both Houses of Parliament,

ment, it is denied, That there is any Popiſh Armie on foot in this Kingdom, but what are raiſed for the defence of the Proteſtant Religion; which may be as ſoon beleeved, as that there is no Popiſh Army on foot in *Ireland:* for beſides, the Iriſh Rebels, (and other Papiſts that were long ſince mentioned in a Declaration of both Houſes of Parliament to be in the Earle of *Newcaſtles* Army, and in that Army which goes under the name of His Majeſtie at *Oxford*) there have many hundreds of armed Papiſts ſince come over with the Queen, and many have been very lately landed at *Cheſter*, beſides thoſe that daily come from *Wales* and other parts. And many of them, contrary to the known Laws of the Kingdom, advanced to places of truſt in the Kings Army, *viz.* Sir *John Netterville*, Lord *Barnwell*, and Sir *John Dungan* his ſonne, *Teige O Rocke*, divers of the *Roches*, and of *O Kellies*, *Thomas Brady*, a moſt bloody and cruell Papiſt; beſides thoſe that are in the Kings lifeguard; yea, there are ſome Franciſcan Friers and Jeſuites that frequently ſay Maſſe at *Oxford* and *Abington*, formerly great Incendiaries in *Ireland*, as *Anthony Mac Gobedon*, *Edmund O Rely*, *Brian O Formely*, *Marro* the Phyſician, *Thomas Nigent*, and divers others; in which if they that doe profeſſe themſelves Proteſtants were not utterly blinded and ſtupified, they would never thinke that they take up Armes for the defence and eſtabliſhing of the Proteſtant Religion in this Kingdom, when as it is obſerved by ſome perſons of note that have been amongſt them, that the moſt of thoſe that are profeſſed Proteſtants there, live more like unto Atheiſts and men of no Religion, then like unto thoſe that beleeve there is a God: for unleſſe they will ſwear, and roar it out with others, they are eſteemed as Puritans and Round-heads. Beſides which, all their Faſting-dayes, and dayes of Thankſgiving, which they keep not there unleſſe with Health-drinking and Feaſting, *viz.* The laſt Faſting day at *London* was the Cavaliers great Feaſting day at *Oxford*. It is further obſerved thence, that if they happen to bring eight or ten Souldiers priſoners, they bring with them forty or threeſcore poore Countrymen, that they take up and force to goe as Priſoners with them, and ſometimes take an hundred horſe, and get boyes to ride them, that they may bring in their Priſoners with more triumph; and then they fall to drinking Healths, leaving the poore men to labour hard in the Trenches all day, and then convey them at night unto priſon. This they ſtill doe, although there are at leaſt fifteen or ſixteen hundred of them ſick in *Oxford* of the new Diſeaſe (as they call it) and many die

for

for want of being dreſſed and lookt after by Surgeons. Cheating and cozening is as common there as at *Paris*, or the moſt noted place in forraigne parts: And it is ordinary to give ſix pence for a Commodity, and within halfe an houre after to ſwear, God dam'em, they gave ten ſhillings for it, and force the Chapman to give them nine ſhillings and ſix pence again, or otherwiſe they would plunder them. Much Paper is daily brought in thither from *London* and *South-hampton*; and *Worceſter* alſo is a ſupply for *Oxford* for Powder, Armes, and great Guns, it were fit that extraordinary care were taken, if poſſible, to intercept theſe things.

On Sunday, July the ninth, Maſter *Nowel*, ſonne to the Lord *Nowel*, a proper and gallant Gentleman, died in the Lord *Peters* his houſe in Alderſgate ſtreet of the ſmall Pox, his death is much lamented among the Cavaliers.

There came out this weeke in print divers Inſtructions and Propoſitions agreed on by ſeverall well-affected perſons in and about the City of *London*, and other parts, for the raiſing of an Army of ten thouſand men or more, whereof both Commanders and Souldiers ſhould be men of approved fidelity and truſt to the Common-wealth, which they intend ſpeedily to effect and to maintain at their owne coſt and charges, if both Houſes of Parliament and the Earle of *Eſſex* ſhall thinke fit; which buſineſſe, if Authority thinke requiſite, will much advantage and expedite the proceedings of the Parliament, and be no way prejudiciall unto the Forces raiſed under the Command of the Noble Generall the Earle of *Eſſex*. Many thouſands of the well-affected party in and about the City of *London*, are ready to ſubſcribe to theſe Propoſitions, and to that purpoſe a Petition is drawn up and atteſted with many of their hands, which they intend ſpeedily to preſent to both Houſes of Parliament, in the behalfe of themſelves and others that are well affected in the whole Kingdom.

Tueſday the eleventh of July, a letter came to Maſter Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, from Sir *John Hotham* late Governour of *Hull*, intimating, That it was his humble requeſt that he might come privately, and not through the City of *London*.

One *Arthur Fry*, a Pewterer, being lately apprehended for having a hand in the late Conſpiracy and Deſigne againſt the City and Kingdom, was committed to cuſtody unto Maſter *Marſhall* in Pater-noſter-row, being one of the Marſhals of the City; in the dead of the night got

got out of the Garret window into a neighbours yard, and so made an escape,

On Tuesday the eleventh of July, an Ordinance was passed by both Houses of Parliament for the indempnifying of the Major of *Hull*, Sir *Matthew Boynton*, and others, for their good service don: in preserving that Towne, by apprehending the persons of Sir *John Hotham* and Captaine *Hotham* his sonne, and also for their seizing on the Block-houses and Courts of guard, and upon the Treasure of the said Sir *John Hotham*, which is conceived not to be lesse then thirty thousand pounds. Which Ordinance is ordered to be speedily sent down into those parts.

From *Ipswich* July the eleventh, It is informed that they have lately taken two and fourty barrels of Gunpowder, and a large dry fat full of Pistols for Horsmen, which were going in a Hoy toward Norfolke, and should have been kept there for one *Fryer* a Citizen of London, a great Malignant, wch he sent thither, fearing lest his ware-House in London should have bin searched for that Master *Challenor* the Linnen Draper (lately executed neer the Exchange) had not long before his death impeached him for having a hand in the late Conspiracy against the City and Kingdome.

Wednesday July the eleventh, It is this day certainly informed, that Sir *William Waller*, since the late fight neer Marsfield in Glocestershire, and his victory there, hath taken the Earle of *Crauford* and all his Troops of Horse at the Devises in Wiltshire, who was sent by his Majesty to relieve Sir *Ralph Hopton*, for which the Oxonian Cavaliers may againe ring their Bels and make Bonefites at *Oxford* (as they did for their former overthrow) mistaking it (poor souls) for a second victory obtained against Sir *William Waller*. Many such overthrows will leave but few Cavaliers in *England*, which through Gods assistance, and aid of the Parliament Forces may speedily be accomplished, and an end put to these intestine civill Ware.

This is Licenced, and entered into the Regiſter-booke at Stationers Hall, according to order.

LONDON,
Printed for *Iohn Wright* and *Thomas Bates*, and are to be sold at their shops in the Old-baily, 1643.



10.

THE ANTI-COVENANT,

Or a ſad

COMPLAINT

Concerning

The new *Oath* or *Covenant*:

Preſented in a Letter to a dear and intimate Friend, with earneſt requeſt for his advice and Prayers.

By a true loyall Subject, and lover of the Parliament.

July. 14 OXFORD,
Printed by *Leonard Lychfield*, Printer to the Univerſity,
1643.

England. — Parliament. — Parl. Proceedings, II.

The Anti-Covenant, Or,

A ſad complaint concerning the new Oath, &c.

DEare Friend and Brother, it is not unknowne to the world, as well as to thoſe ſober and pious Chriſtians, that are of our ſociety and acquaintance, what an honourable and reverend eſteem the very name of Parliament hath alwayes carried with us two, and how obſervant wee have beene of their commands, without diſputing their power or integrity. When the Proteſtation was enjoyned, we willingly and cheerfully tooke it, hoping therby to give ſufficient teſtimony both to the King and Parliament, and to all others that ſhould otherwiſe ſcruple it, of our love and zeale to the true eſtabliſhed Proteſtant Religion, of our loyalty and obedience to our gracious Sovereigne, of our honour and eſteeme of both Houſes of Parliament, and their juſt power and priviledges, and of our ſenſe and care of the rights and liberties of the ſubject: and this ſolemne Oath we have endeavoured to obſerve and keepe. When the Poll-money and great Subſidy were granted, both by King and Parliament, we moſt readily paid both. When the diſtreſſed condition of Ireland was recommended to us, we cheerefully contributed: Nay, when the Propoſitions were made to us, for plate, money and horſe, to fetch our good King from his evill Counſellours, (it being declared to us by ſome of the Members of the Houſe of Commons, and others of their Commiſſioners, that his Majeſty was deſirous to come from them, and that thoſe about him would flie from him upon the appearance of the Parliaments forces, without ſtriking one ſtroke) wee were perſwaded to lend liberally upon the Publike Faith towards that ſervice. And ſince that, upon ſeverall new ſuggeſtions, we have given ſuch credit to ſome Members of both Houſes ſpeeches, and to ſome Preachers, (whom they have countenanced, if not ſent amongſt us) that we have not with-holden from the

Parliament what we have beene able to ſpare. Neither did we ſtop heere (though our ſpeed was by this time well taken off) but often and often ſince, partly out of feare, and partly out of hope, feare of being (after all this) reputed Malignants (a name more odious then Turke, Pagan, or Papiſt) and hope at laſt of an Accommodation, (a mercy too great for this ſinfull Nation as yet to pertake of) we have by our wives, kindred, or friends, more then once ſubminiſtred to the preſſing neceſſities of the Parliaments forces. But now (deare Brother) what ſhall we doe? When all that we have done hitherto, will keepe neither our houſes from plundering, nor our perſons from impriſonment, nor our names from being Malignant, nor our wives and children from beggery and miſery, unleſſe wee will wound our conſciences, and hazard our ſoules by horrid and palpable perjury. Oh, that we had but foreſeen this impoſing upon our ſoules and conſciences, when firſt the opening of our purſes was called for; but it was Gods juſt judgement upon us for our ſinnes: firſt, to blinde us ſo long, till we had made a rod for our ſelves, and then to awe us with that rod, till our ſevere maſters have brought u to that undoubted triall, whether we feare God or them, whether wee love our ſoules, or our eſtates and liberties moſt. But what is the matter? Why read, and the Lord give you underſtanding.

Whereas the Lords and Commons now aſſembled in Parliament have declared, That there hath beene, and now is, a Popiſh and traiterous plot, &c. as it followeth in the Introduction and Covenant to be taken by the Armies and Kingdome.

(With one clauſe more added in the Lords and Commons Oath, for their not laying downe Armes.) This is the new vow and covenant taken by the Lords and Commons now aſſembled in Parliament, and voted by them to be taken by the Armies and Kingdome, together with the Introduction, declaring the grounds and reaſons inducing them thereunto.

I know it is not fit for private men to be too inquiſitive into, much leſſe cenſorious of the decrees and ordinances of publike States, unleſſe it be where ſuch decrees and ordinances concerne the ſoules and conſciences of men, and there every man is bound both diligently to examine, and diſcreetly to judge whatſoever is injoyned him, before he ſubmit himſelfe thereunto; as alſo to counſell and adviſe

his

his brethren. Be pleaſed then, deare Brother (for ſo I have ever called and eſteemed you) to give me leave to acquaint you with my thoughts, both of this Oath and its Introduction: and wherein I erre (as who is infallible? not the Compoſers themſelves, much leſſe any private man, and leaſt of all my ſelfe, the weakeſt of ten thouſand) I beſeech you be my gentle corrector, and friendly inſtructor. And firſt I begin with the Introduction.

The reaſons and grounds of impoſing and taking this new Oath, heere alleadged, are principally theſe three:

1. For that the Lords and Commons have declared, that there hath beene, and now is, a Popiſh and traiterous plot for the ſubverſion of the true Proteſtant Reformed Religion, and the liberty of the Subject, and that in purſuance thereof, a Popiſh army hath been raiſed, and is now on foot in divers parts of this Kingdome.

2. That the Lords and Commons have further in a ſolemne maner declared, vowed, and covenanted, That in order to the ſecurity and preſervation of the true Proteſtant Religion, and liberty of the Subject, they will not conſent to the laying downe of Arms, ſo long as the Papiſts, now in open warre againſt the Parliament, ſhall by force of armes be protected againſt the juſtice thereof.

3. For that the Lords and Commons have declared that there hath been a traiterous and horrid deſigne lately diſcovered by the great bleſſing and eſpeciall providence of God, of divers perſons to joyne themſelves with the Armies raiſed by the King, and to deſtroy the Forces raiſed by the Lords and Commons in Parliament, to ſurpriſe the Cities of London and Weſtminſter, with the Suburbs, and by Armes to force the Parliament; all which reaſons are amplified with an aſſertion. That the ſaid Lords and Commons doe finde by conſtant experience, That many wayes of force and treachery are continually attempted to bring to utter ruine and deſtruction the Parliament and Kingdome, and that which is deareſt, the true Proteſtant Religion. And then followes the inference or concluſion, that for the preventing and withſtanding the ſame, they have thought fit, that all &c. ſhould binde themſelves each to other in a ſacred Vow and Covenant, in manner and forme as followeth, I A. B. *In humility and reverence, &c.*

The grounds and reasons in their order.

First, we are told, That the Lords and Commons now assembled in Parliament have declared, that there hath been, and now is a popish and traiterous plot for the subversion of the true Protestant Religion, and the Liberty of the Subject. And that in pursuance thereof, &c. This is the first *Credendum*, set foorth to usher in our *Jurandum*: this we must believe, therefore thus and thus we must sweare. But why must we believe this? because the Lords and Commons have Declared it. I owe the Lords and Commons my obedience in a subordinate way, next and immediatly under my King: but I do not yet know that I owe them my Faith, in that supreme way as to believe whatsoever they declare. Nay, I know the contrary; and therfore I will be bold to examine the truth of this *credendum*, so far as I am able, before I give up my faith unto it.

That there hath been in this Kingdome a Popish and trayterous plot, for the subversion of the true Protestant Reformed Religion, is recorded to us, and to our posterities, with an Act of Parliament for an Anniversary commemoration of our deliverance from the same. And I doubt not but there have beene many other plots since, to the same purpose, by the same faction, though God of his mercy hath disappointed them ere they came to any visible maturity: Neither will I altogether free the late potent Faction from intending some such mischiefe. Nay further, I am not very slow of heart to beleeve, that there is now at this present in this Kingdome a traiterous plot for the same purpose, which may as well be called a Popish, as an Anabaptisticall, Brownisticall, or Separatisticall plot, the Papists as well as the Anabaptists, Brownists, and other Separatists, contriving and contributing what they can thereunto, and all meeting and consenting in the same positions and doctrines for the effecting thereof. For what *Luther* said of the Anabaptists and Papists, we find by wofull experience true of them all, *Fratres sunt, & cauda conjuncta sunt, vulpes, sed capitibus diversa: fingunt sese foris magnos hostes esse, cum tamen intus vere idem sentiant, doceant, ac defendant*, they are all brethren, and they are crafty foxes linked together by the tales, though their heads looke divers waies, they outwardly feigne themselves to be great enemies each to other, but inwardly they doe verily think, teach,

teach, and maintaine one and the same thing. And all these though they pretend too much the liberty of the Subject, yet the truth is, they intend only to inlarge their owne liberty and licentiousnesse, and to destroy the just liberty and property as well as the duty and loyalty of all Subjects whatsoever. Thus farre it is no difficult matter to beleeve that there hath been and now is a plot for the subversion of the true reformed Protestant Religion, and the liberty of the Subject, and tot he lawfull defence of the same thus plotted against, I conceive my selfe already sufficiently bound, not only by my duty, as I am a Protestant and a Subject, but also by my late Oath or Protestation, as I am thereby a new sworne Protestant and Subject. And therefore if that be the true cause why I should take an oath, I have very lately for the same cause already taken one; and I humbly conceive that having made the former oath so lately, for their satisfaction who require this, they ought to rest satisfied with the former, without urging any other; it being a ruled case in Law, *Dato juramento non aliud quaritur quam, an juratum sit, remissa questione an debeatur, quasi satis probatum sit juramento*: when once an oath is given, no further question is to be made then whether the oath be taken or not, all other questions of the proofe of what is controverted, are to be remitted as being proved sufficiently by the very making oath thereof; and you well know what the Apostles rule in that case is, *Heb. 6. 16.* an oath for confirmation is (at least ought to be) to them (to those who require the oath) an end of all strife. And the multiplying of oaths is perillous as well to the imposers, as to the takers.

But to goe on with the first reason, That in pursuance of such or such a Popish plot, &c. a Popish army hath been raised, and is now on foot in divers parts of this Kingdome; here my faith so staggers that I cannot possibly keep it up to this assertion, and that for these Reasons:

First, because that an Army cannot truly be called a Popish Army, wherein not five of an hundred are Papists, unlesse we take Papists in that latitude as to involve all those that imbrace, adhere to, and maintain the established Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England. And if five of an hundred in an Army being Papists may give the name of Popish to that Army, what name can we thinke of for that Army, wherein there are (besides Papists) Anabaptists,

Brownists,

Brownists, Familists, and other Sectaries an hundred for five true Reformed Protestants? Tis not denied but that there are now in the Kings Army too many that are Papists, and yet there are no more Papists in that army, then ought to be there; for being Subjects as well as Papists, they are bound both by the Lawes of God and of this Nation, to assist their King in his warres, both against forreign enemies, and against native rebels and usurpers: and the King is bound to protect them against spoile, rapine, and other oppression, aswell as his other Subjects. It is, (I solemnly professe) a sore greefe to my soul (and so I am confident tis to all really religious Protestant souls besides) that ever our King, who hath beene so long, and still is, so eminent a Defender of the true Protestant Religion, should neede the assistance of Papists, to defend his Royall person, honour, and estate; as tis a shame to our Religion it self, that Papists should shew their Loyalty and Allegiance to their King in such a defence, when so many, that would be reputed the onely true Protestants, either take up or maintaine the taking up armes against him. This scandall to the Protestant Religion would scarce ever bee wiped of, were there not (blessed bee God for it) forty Protestants to one Papist, that cheerefully and valiantly assist the King in these present warres, with their lives and estates. Secondly, if the army raised by his Majesty, and now on foot in divers parts of this Kingdome, bee a popish army, it were worth the knowing, when it became so, or when at least it became to be so reputed, For that magnanimous and royall army which hath ever attended his sacred person, I find severall Declarations of both Houses of Parliament, wherein they who levied those forces, and they that were levied, have beene called ill affected persons, Cavaleers, Delinquents, Malignants, and the like; but scarce the name of Papists was for a long time mentioned in any of them. Since that, I finde *Papists*, a Jesuiticall faction, prelaticall Clergy, and discontented persons added to the former; and all called Assistants in and to the Forces prepared; but as yet they were not called a Popish Army; and it seemes there was not the least cause why they should be so stiled; for that no sooner was the Name of *Papists* or Jesuiticall faction, mentioned by them, as having ought to doe in that service for the King, but presently his Sacred Majesty caused a *Proclamation* to issue forth, given at his Court at Yorke,

Yorke August 10. 1642. expresly commanding, that no person or persons whatsoever, being Popish Recusants, should come to His Court, contrary to the Law in that case provided, or take any office or place, or list himselfe as a souldier in His Service. And though the King at the time of that terrible battell at Edgehill had admitted some few Papists of eminent abilities in command and conduct into His Service; yet He is graciously pleased to yeeld such a faire and reasonable account thereof in His Declaration to all His loving Subjects after His late victory against the Rebells on Sunday 23 of October 1642. as must needs be to all that will credit the word of a King, most abundantly satisfactory. And since that battell, (that maske of fighting for the King being then blowne off with their owne priming powder) tis not to be endured in point of Honour by any Protestant that regards the honour of his Religion, that any should say, the Papists have so outstript the Protestants in loyalty, as to win the denomination of the Kings Army to be Popish from their superincreasing therein; And (blessed be the Lord for it) they have not the least cause so to brag, for what cause soever others have been pleased so to declare. Then for the Kings Army in the West so long under the command of that valiant and successefull, religious and pious Sir *Ralph Hopton*, I doe not remember that amongst all the lyes and slanders, all the calumnies and reproaches, that have been preached or printed, any have yet been so wickedly impudent as to call that Popish, or to affirme that any knowne Papists are listed in it. I am sure both Houses of Parliament in their Ordinances made against Sir *Ralph*, and his Forces (*viz.* that in June 27. 1642. for the prevention of a most horrid, wicked and unnaturall designe pursued by Sir *Ralph Hopton*, and his adherents &c. and that made the same day for the assessing of Malignants in the County of Somerset, &c.) never call any of those that have assisted him or joyned with him Papists, but only Rebells and Traitors. So that we are forced to looke into the Northerne parts to finde out this Popish Army: and for the Army in those parts, though I finde some Diurnals, and other such like lying and slanderous pamphlets, wherein that Army was called Popish, even at its first advancing into Yorkeshire; yet I observed that the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament did not themselves stile it so, no not in their Declaration for the suppressing of divers Pa-

 pists,

piſts, and other malignant perſons in the Counties of Yorke, Northumberland, Weſtmerland, Cumberland, Lancaſhire, Cheſhire, &c. Novemb. 23. 1642. They therein declare that the Papiſts, and other malignants, and ill affected perſons in thoſe Counties had entred into an aſſociation, and cauſed great Forces both of horſe and foot to be raiſed to aid and aſſiſt the Popiſh and malignant party in thoſe parts; but for all this they doe not yet brand them with the name of a popiſh Army, afterwards indeed when they had found that the name of popiſh army ſpread abroad (as I but now ſaid) by Diurnalls and other lying and ſcandalous pamphlets (the conſtant preſſures to prepare the way for more authentick Declarations) had ſomewhat ſtartled and amazed the poore Country people: then we heare the ſtile of an Army of Papiſts under the command of the Earle of *Newcaſtle*, made uſe of, as in that Declaration of the Houſe of Commons Decemb. 15. 1642. the Declaration of the Lords and Commons ſtill retaining their former ſtile. But paſſe by the originall of that army: Did that army as yet ever merit the name of Popiſh? That there were, and are more Papiſts in that army, then in all the Kings armies throughout the Kingdome I do verily beleeve; thoſe Counties out of which it was raiſed abounding with Papiſts more then other counties by far. And yet we have been aſſured from ſuch as deſerve our credit, that all the Papiſts in that army are not a handfull in compariſon of the whole body, not above one of fifty, and in all not ſo many as to make up two Regiments. But why five times ſo many Papiſts? (if there were ſo many in this Kingdome) ſhould not be admitted to take up armes for the defence of their Sovereigne, and rights and libertie of the Subject, I never yet heard any argument worth anſwering; nay how the papiſts, or any for them, could anſwer their not taking up armes in ſuch a caſe without incurring the guilt of high Treaſon, is paſt my reſolving. And for the Proteſtant Religion, which they ſo much hate, and the power and priviledge of Parliament, which they ſo much maligne; whereas it is objected that it cannot be thought, that they ſhould fight for the defence of either of them: I doe conceive that if they might be let alone quiet, and ſecure without intermedling, their love to either is not ſo great as to inflame their ſpirits to ſuch a hazard of their lives for their ſakes; but the preſſing neceſſities of the preſent times ingaging them in a

War,

War, and they finding the quarrell to be betwixt the ſafety of the Kings perſon, honour and eſtate, and the ambitious, ſeditious and rebellious deſignes and attempts of ſome of His Subjects, betwixt Proteſtants, and ſome Anabaptiſts, Browniſts and other Sectaries, betwixt the enjoying the juſt power and priviledges of Parliament, together with their owne lives, goods and eſtates, and the being ſpoyled, robbed and deprived of all, or the moſt of theſe by the arbitrary power and priviledges of a few Lords and Commons; tis no wonder to ſee them to offer themſelves willingly to defend and maintain the former, rather then to endure & ſuffer the latter. Beſides when the Proteſtants in a Kingdome are imbroyled in a civill war amongſt themſelves, or with any factious and ſchiſmaticall perſons, it would not be wiſdome in them to ſuffer the papiſts to ſit quiet and ſtill if they ſhould deſire it, leſt when they have weakned each other the papiſts prove too ſtrong for both. But for further ſatisfaction in this point, I refer you to the Earle of *Newcaſtle* his excellent Declaration to that purpoſe, and to that witty and ſolid letter of a Worthy (whoſoever it was) to his friend in Leceiſterſhire.

Now theſe things premiſed, thus cleared, I cannot but wonder what is meant by the popiſh army which hath been raiſed, and is now on foot in divers parts of this Kingdome: had we been told that there is ſuch an army flying in divers parts of this Kingdome, if we could not have ſeen it, it might happily have been imputed to the dulneſſe and weakneſſe of our ey-ſight, or to our want of that light, whereby ſome are able to diſcover things that never were, but to ſay there is ſuch an army on foot, and yet no more footſteps of it to be found, is to tell us little leſſe then a miracle, and but of little more credit then theſe late miracles which ſome of our new apoſtles have boaſted of. Well but let us indulge them that name, ſeeing they who can call any things or perſons what they pleaſe, are pleaſed ſo to phraſe it. The army in the North whereof not above foure or five of an hundred are papiſts, is a popiſh army. But why then muſt it be beleeved that there is a popiſh army raiſed and on foot in divers parts of this Kingdome? Is it becauſe there are divers parts of the North wherein that army is, as *York*, *Taacaſter*, *Pomfret*, *Wakefield*, &c. and all theſe are parts of this Kingdome; an excellent topicall argument to puzle a Freſh-man with; or is it becauſe they

would have the poore long deceived people to beleeve, that forasmuch as the one part of the Kings army in the North is somewhat Popish, therefore all the Kings army that is now in severall parts of this Kingdome, as Oxfordshire, Dorsetshire, Sommersetshire, Devonshire, Cornwell, Staffordshire and Worcestershire, &c. consists most of Papists? certainly it is in this latter sense that they desire the phrase Popish army may be understood, or else it would prove but of very litle force to perswade the common people (who blessed be God do generally abominate Popery) either to conceive so much evil of the Kings army, as they would possesse them withall, or else to beleeve that there is from them any cause of fearing the subversion of the true reformed Protestant Religion, and so of entring into an oath or covenant to doe such and such things as the new Oath requires. And by this time I hope you will excuse me if I doe not beleeve that there is a popish army raised, and on foot in divers parts of this Kingdome. Thirdly, I abhor to let it enter into my thoughts, that any army is raised by the King (as is affirmed) for the subversion of the true Protestant Religion. The Preacher commands me in Gods name (whatsoever some preachers teach their people in their owne and their Masters) not to curse the King, no not in my thoughts, *Eccles.* 10.20. but should I thinke that the King intends by His Army now on foot, or by any other way or meanes, to subvert the true Protestant Reformed Religion; though I should not for all that curse Him no not in my thoughts, yet I must needs think Him the most accursed King that ever breathed, He having made so many solemne oaths, vows and protestations, with most deep imprecations annexed both to live and dye in the true Reformed Protestant Religion himselfe, and to maintaine and defend it in His Subjects. I will minde you only of that one in the head of His Army, Septem. 19. 1642. *I promise in the presence of Almighty God, and as I hope for his blessing and protection, that I will to the utmost of my power defend and maintaine the true Reformed Protestant Religion established in the Church of England, and by the Grace of God in the same will live and dye, &c.* And for the liberty of the Subject, together with the just priviledges and freedome of parliament, He did both at that time, and sundry other with the like solemnly vow and sweare their defence and maintainance. Now can it bee thought by any (but such whose thoughts are

thoughts

thoughts of iniquity, *Esay* 59.7.) that ſuch a conſtant and faithfull Defender of the true Proteſtant Religion for ſo many yeares againſt ſo many plots and attempts, intimated by this very Declaration, and after ſo many and ſo ſolemne oaths, vows and proteſtations, ſhould now raiſe an Army to ſubvert that Religion, and when it was raiſed to promiſe againe in the very head of that Army His beſt and utmoſt defence of the ſame, calling God to witneſſe with Him, and deſiring neither bleſſing nor protection from Him, but according as He reſolved to make good that promiſe and proteſtation; doubtleſſe there is very nigh as much faith in Infidels, and as much charity in the damned ſpirits as there is in theſe men that can beleeve ſuch a ſlander, or entertain ſuch a ſuſpition.

In the Declaration of the Lords and Commons to the Kingdome, and to the World, Octob. 22. 1642. they account the profeſſing of any thing in the ſight of God, the ſtrongeſt obligation that any Chriſtian, and the moſt ſolemne publike faith that any ſuch ſtate as a Parliament can give. They then that will not credit the like profeſſion made by a King, muſt neither thinke him a Chriſtian, nor eſteem him a King. Beſides, were there any ſo wickedly uncharitable and diſloyall, as to imagine that the King had an intention to ſubvert the true Reformed Proteſtant Religion. Yet how can they think both him, and his evill counſellors, together with the Popiſh party about him (as every pamphlet takes the liberty, moſt traiterouſly, to pourtray him and his royall attendants) to be all ſo weak and ſimple, as to raiſe an army for the purſuance of that intent, juſt at that time, when greater forces of Proteſtants (as they would be thought) were either actually rayſed, or ready to riſe, then he or they could by the eye of fleſh ſee any poſſibility of levying; and when he wanted both money and armes for thoſe few, that he might hope to levie: without doubt, if there had beene any ſuch purpoſe, that time of all other would not have been choſen for the opportunity. Theſe reaſons are of ſuch force with me, that the firſt reaſon alleadged for the taking this Oath ſeemes to mee, (to ſay the leaſt of it) altogther unreaſonable.

Proceed wee on to the ſecond; it may be that is more ingaging. The Lords and Commons have further in a ſolemne manner, declared, vowed, and covenanted, that in order to the ſecurity and preſervation

ſervation of the true Proteſtant Religion, and liberty of the Subject, they will not conſent to the laying downe armes, ſo long as the Papiſts now in open warre againſt the Parliament, ſhall by force of armes be protected from the juſtice thereof.

Before this reaſon will downe with me for a perſwading reaſon to the taking this Oath, I muſt bee ſatisfied, if poſſible, in theſe *Queres*.

1. *Quer.* What doe the Lords and Commons meane by that clauſe, In order to the ſecurity and preſervation of the true Proteſtant Religion, &c. Doe they meane that they will never conſent to the laying downe armes, &c. No, not for the ſecurity and preſervation of the true Proteſtant Religion: or that becauſe they conceive that the true Proteſtant Religion cannot bee ſecured and preſerved, ſo long as the Papiſts now in open warre ſhall, &c. That therefore they will not conſent to the laying downe armes, ſo long &c. Or is this, In order to, &c. uſed heere for ſome evading reſervation, as the Ieſuits have conſtantly uſed their, *In ordine ad ſpiritualia*, (they being the only men, that I can recall to mind for the preſent, that ever uſed this kind of reſtriction, or, rather indeed, this faſt and looſe knot of an oath) that ſo they may evade ſome oathes formerly taken, or the power of this, in caſe they can get a faire gloſſe to bee made upon theſe termes: charity and reverence command mee to take the beſt interpretation: but an oath ſhould bee framed in ſuch plaine cleare tearmes, as might be underſtood by all the takers thereof, without much difficulty of expoſition: but to leave that to themſelves.

2. *Quer.* Whom doe the Lords and Commons underſtand by Papiſts now in open warre againſt the Parliament? whether legally convicted Papiſts only, or all Pariſts at large? If all Papiſts at large, (as I conceive they meane no leſſe,) my

3. *Quere* is: Whether only knowne profeſſed Papiſts, properly ſo called? or alſo all ſuppoſed, ſuſpected Papiſts, commonly, ſo termed? If the former

4. *Quer.* Whether they have proceeded againſt all ſuch that are now in the Kings army, according to the eſtabliſhed Law of this Kingdome, and requiring juſtice to be done upon them, they have beene by force of armes protected from the execution therein?

5. *Quer.*

5. *Quer.* How or where doth it appeare that there have beene, or are, any ſuch ſo protected, eſpecially to ſuch a number, as that the protecting of them ought to move the great Actors and Contrivers for the Kingdomes peace, for that cauſe to vowe and covenant to continue this unchriſtian, unnaturall warre, till they be delivered up to their juſtice.

6. *Quer.* Whether the Queenes Majeſty her ſelfe, bee not one of thoſe protected Papiſts chiefly aymed at?

7. *Quer.* If by Papiſts they meane all that are ſuppoſed, ſuſpected, and by divers termed Papiſts: whether all thoſe that are called Malignants, or Delinquents, or diſaffected perſons, and ſo all that are eyther of the Kings army, or have beene ayding and aſſiſting to them, are not by them reckoned in that number? So that if the King would deliver up to their juſtice, all that are Papiſts indeed, (even to his deare Queene) within all his armies, yet if hee will not with them deliver up alſo all his whole armies themſelves, or at leaſt as many of them as they ſhall require, they will not ſtill thinke themſelves bound by this vow and covenant, not to lay downe their armes, or to give their conſent thereto?

8. *Quer.* Whether the King be not bound in conſcience, by the Lawes of God, and of this Kingdome, by his owne ſolemn vows and proteſtations, and by the common law of Nature (too much pleaded by ſome in theſe dayes, even againſt the law of Grace it ſelfe) to defend and protect, and that by force of armes, need ſo requiring, not only his owne deare Queene, but all his faithfull and loyall Subjects, both Papiſts and others, ſuch eſpecially as repaire to him for his ſacred perſons defence and ſafety, as well as for their owne protection, and the preſervation of their rights and liberties?

9. *Quer.* Whether the King on the one part being ſo bound to defend and protect both his Queene and the reſt now named; and the Lords and Commons now aſſembled in Parliament, having on the other part, taken up Armes, to force all thoſe perſons from the Kings defence and protection, and bound themſelves by a ſolemne new oath, never to lay downe their armes againe, ſo long as any ſuch perſons are ſo protected, whether, I ſay, can there bee poſſibly, any hope conceived of peace and accommodation, either by way of Treaty, or any other way whatſoever, without the effuſion of infinite

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ſtreams of blood, ſo much as will make any Chriſtians heart to bleed, but to think on it, and his very joints to looſe, and his knees to knock one againſt another, to have any hand in it, knowing what the hand of God hath written againſt bloodſhed?

10. *Quer.* This being the true caſe of this Kingdome at this preſent, whether is not this ſecond reaſon of the Lords and Commons making ſuch a new covenant, as will, (if ſeconded by ours) coſt the expence of ſo much of our owne, and fellow-brethrens blood, rather a ſtrong reaſon, why we ſhould abhorre this new oath, by whomſoever it is taken, then any the leaſt inducement to perſwade us to take it.

Before I part from this reaſon, ſuffer me, I beſeech you, to beſprinkle a few teares on it, and to pant forth a few broken ejaculations concerning thoſe that alleadge it: Mourne on my ſoule. Oh, that my head were waters, and mine eyes a fountayne of teares, that I might weepe day and night for the ſlaine of the daughter of my people. *Jer.* 9 1. How are thy mighty men, O England, fallen in the midſt of the battell? 2. *Sam.* 1.25. Yea, how are they ſlaine from one end of the Land to the other? How have the carkaſes of thy people beene made as dung upon the open field? Oh thou ſword of the Lord, how long will it be ere thou be quiet? put up thy ſelfe into thy ſcabbard, reſt, and be ſtill. But how canſt thou be quiet, ſeeing the Lord hath given thee a charge againſt this Land? O God of mercies, as well as Lord of Hoſts, we acknowledge that we have deſerved it, and we ſee to our terrour, that they, whom we too much relied on for the ſetling our peace, have ſworne themſelves, and would ſwear us into a perpetuall warre; but we hope thou haſt not yet paſſed ſuch a decree againſt us. Spare us therefore, we humbly beſeech thee, oh ſpare thy people, whom thou haſt redeemed with thy pretious blood, and let not the ſword be made drunke with blood any longer, nor let drunkenneſſe of ſpirit, we intreat thee, ſeaſe upon our Princes and our wiſe men, our Captaines and our Rulers, and our mighty men, to cauſe them to ſleepe a perpetuall ſleep; but Lord doe thou awaken both them and us, that we may yet at laſt in this our day of viſitation, ſee and ſeeke thoſe things that concerne our peace.

And now I goe on to the third reaſon or ground. The Lords and Commons have declared, that there hath beene a treacherous and horrid

horrid deſigne lately diſcovered, by the great bleſſing and eſpeciall providence of God, of divers perſons to joine themſelves with the armies rayſed by the King, and to deſtroy the forces rayſed by the Lords and Commons in *Parliament*, to ſurpriſe the Cities of London and Weſtminſter, with the Suburbes, and by armes to force the Parliament.

If there hath beene a treacherous and horrid deſigne lately diſcovered by the great bleſſing and eſpeciall providence of God, we are all bound upon the knowledge thereof, to magnifie Gods mercy and goodneſſe, and to extoll his power and providence for it, and that man ſhall not want for a curſe that ſhall ſlight or undervalue ſo great a bleſſing: but I ſee no reaſon why we ſhould therupon, or for that cauſe, ruſh preſently into a vow or covenant, and run our Soules into a farre greater hazard then our Bodies were delivered from. But, it may be, it was ſuch a treacherous and horrid deſigne, as may require a vow and covenant forthwith to bee made by us: Tis fit wee ſhould throughly examine whether it be or not, leſt otherwiſe we be guilty of taking Gods name in vaine in the higheſt degree. All that is made knowne to us concerning this treacherous and horrid deſign by the Introduction to this oath (from which the takers thereof are to receive their ſureſt information, and by which principally they are to be induced to take it) is only this. There was a deſigne of divers perſons for theſe fowre ends: 1. To joyn themſelves with the armies rayſed by the King. 2. To deſtroy the forces rayſed by the Lords and Commons in Parliament. 3. To ſurpriſe the Cities of London and Weſtminſter, with the Suburbes. 4. To force the *Parliament* by armes. Now let us looke upon this deſigne a while, with a ſingle, cleare, open eie, neither ſquint nor blood-ſhot, neither with a magnifying, nor with a formidable-falſe-rendring glaſſe, and diſcover if we can, wherein the treacherouſneſſe and horridneſſe of it lies. For the firſt intent of the deſigne. The joyning of divers perſons with the armies rayſed by the King, tis ſo far from treachery and horridneſſe, that he that is an Engliſh man, can ſcarce avoyd the being a Traytor, and ſo moſt horrid, that doth not ſo joine himſelfe with thoſe Armies in ſome way or other, wherein he is beſt able to doe his Sovereigne ſervice; and for the diſcovery thereof tis well knowne not to be ſo lately as is pretended, the Lords and Commons

themſelves having declared it often and often, and that long ſince in ſundry Declarations. But that either thoſe perſons, or thoſe armies with whom they joine, doe aime at, or intend the deſtroying the forces rayſed by the Lords and Commons aſſembled in *Parliament*, or the ſurpriſing the Cities of London and Weſtminſter, with the Suburbes, or the forcing the *Parliament* by armes (though they have all three beene a long time ſpoken of, and two of them again and again inſiſted upon by the Lords and Commons in their Orders and Ordinances) hath never to this day been prooved, but on the contrary, ſo deeply and ſolemnly have all theſe aimes beene proteſted and ſworn againſt by the King himſelfe, and are ready (if that would give any ſatisfaction) to be diſclaimed and renounced upon the oaths of thoſe armies, and the perſons joyning with them; that were all other reall, but concealed, jealouſies and feares as eaſie to be removed, as thoſe three now pretended, all ſuch forces on both ſides would bee ſoone disbanded, and theſe unnaturall and unchriſtian warres ſpeedily ended. This indeed is to be expected, and cannot well be avoyded, if after ſo many and ſo gratious overtures of peace, pardon, and all ſweet accommodation made by his Sacred Majeſty, the forces rayſed by the Lords and Commons ſhall not only refuſe to lay down their armes, but uſe them (as hitherto they have) to the ſubverſion both of the Diſcipline and Order, as alſo of the Doctrine and Worſhip of God eſtabliſhed in our Church, to indangering the Kings perſon, the conſumption of his treaſure and eſtate, and to the damage and ruine of his whole Kingdome: and if the Cities of London and Weſtminſter, with the Suburbs thereof, ſhall, as formerly they have, joine with them, and ayd and aſſiſt them, both with men, mony, armes, and other warlike proviſion, and if ſome of the Members of either or both Houſes of Parliament, ſhall countenance, encourage, juſtifie and maintaine all theſe ungodly actions, againſt his Majeſties Royall Perſon, Crowne, and Dignity, Who can blame either thoſe armies rayſed by the King, or thoſe perſons that joyne with them, if they ſhall do their utmoſt, to ſubdue or deſtroy thoſe forces, to ſurpriſe or bring into ſubjection thoſe Cities, and to force or ſome other way to reduce thoſe Members to their duty and allegiance? Nay, what Chriſtian or Heathen Subjects would not in ſuch a caſe crie out againſt them now, and riſe up in judgement againſt them

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heereafter, if they ſhould doe otherwiſe? And therefore if this bee the Deſigne ſo much talked of, as for my part I believe it is, what loyall ſubject can ſay, he had no hand in it? and who but hee that hath had no hand in it, dare ſay, it was eyther treacherous or horrid? Oh, but Mr. *Pym* hath declared it ſo to be, in his ſpeech at a Common-hall in London, *June* 8. 1643. wherein hee ſhewes the intentions of that Deſigne to be no leſſe then theſe.

1. To take into their cuſtody the Kings Children, that are in or about London.

2. To lay hold on all thoſe that they thought could ſtand in their way, as the Lord *Say*, and the Lord *Wharton*, of the Houſe of Lords; and of the Houſe of Commons, (beſides the Lord Major) Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Mr. *Hampden*, Mr. *Strode*, and (which he acknowledgeth to be an honour to him to be named) Mr. *Pym*.

3. To ſeiſe on the Committee of the Militia, and the Magazines within London and Weſtminſter.

4. To releaſe all the priſoners committed by the Parliament.

5. To make a Declaration to ſatisfie the people.

Bleſſed be the Lord for it, heer is no intention diſcovered of murthering or butchering any of the Kings children, or of any of the Citizens, or of any of the Members of either Houſes of Parliament; no not of the perſons named; neither is there heere any reſolution intimated of blowing up any part of London or Weſtminſter, or of firing any houſe therein, but only of taking the Kings Children into their cuſtody, of laying hold on certaine Lords and Commons, and of ſeiſing the Militia, &c. and this, it ſeemes, in the ſenſe of the contrivers of this Oath, is to deſtroy the forces rayſed by the Lords and Commons, to ſurpriſe the Cities of London and Weſtminſter, and by armes to force the Parliament, and all this a treacherous and horrid Deſign. But how is that made good? Surely the taking of the Kings Children into their cuſtody, (if it were any part of the Deſigne) is not thought by the Lords and Commons themſelves, to have much treachery or horridnes in it, howſoever Mr. *Pym* (to ſhew his ſuperabundant care of thoſe hopefull branches, for their Royall Stemmes ſake) was pleaſed to make that the firſt branch of that treacherous and horrid Deſigne: neither can the releaſing of the priſoners committed by the Parliament, (if any ſuch juſtice were purpoſed) bee

well judged to have much treachery or horridneſſe in it : for alas, poore unarmed men all, (men abhorring treachery and all horrid deſignes ſo much, that the greateſt cauſe of moſt of their impriſonment, is their declaming againſt, and not contributing or conſenting unto that Deſigne, which they know to be both trayterous and horrid) what could they have done, had they beene releaſed? It would be ſafeſt for them, if there ſhould be any combuſtion or mutiny in the City or Suburbs (which God forbid) not to come forth of their priſons though they were intreated. Perhaps indeed the making of a Declaration to ſatisfie the people, might have advanced the Deſigne not a little ; for, it ſeemes by Mr. *Pyms* ſpeech, it was ſome notable, faire, well-compos'd peece, carrying a moſt ſpecious ſhew of much intended goodneſſe : *viz.* The preſervation of Religion, the preſervation of the Kings Prerogative, and the preſervation of the Liberties of the Subject, and the priviledges of Parliament ; and the compoſers thereof were very confident (as Mr. *Pym* intimates) of the peoples crediting and believing it: for that a thouſand of them were to be printed, and they to be ſet upon Poſts and Gates in the moſt conſiderable places of the City, and to be diſperſed, as much as they could, againſt the time that the Deſigne ſhould be put in execution, as if that would cleare all their intentions, and convince the people of their integrity in undertaking that buſineſſe. And to tell you my judgement of it, for ſo much as I can collect from Mr. *Pym*, it was ſuch a piece of a treacherous Deſigne, that Mr. *Pym* was afraid, that it would have gone neer to have betrayed the people into their wits againe ; perhaps into their Religion and loyalty, if not into ſome of their Eſtates and Liberties : and therefore he lets it not paſſe without paſſing this moſt obſervable Sentence on it, ratified from his owne practiſe and experience. There be no deſignes bee they never ſo ill, but they doe put on a maske of ſome good ; for that which is abſolutely and apparantly evill, hath no congruity with the will of man, and therefore the worſt of evills are undertaken under a ſhew and ſhadow of goodneſſe : ſound doctrine, and an excellent caution, I confeſſe : would to God the people had beene better inſtructed in it, and more mindfull of it in theſe times : but yet with reverence to that great Speaker be it ſpoken, If that intended Declaration which he ſpeakes of, were worthy of no other blame, but its appearing ſo extra-

extraordinary faire and ſpecious (as were there any other reall exception againſt it, doubtleſſe that quick-ſighted Gentleman would not have balked it) I ſee no reaſon, why becauſe by often and late experience it hath beene found, that ſome Declarations full of Treachery and Miſchiefe, have appeared faire in ſhew, therefore this Declaration full of loyalty and goodneſſe, ſhould be thought treacherous and miſchievous, only becauſe it was faire in appearance. But then for the other two parts of the deſigne, *viz.* the laying hold on thoſe perſons named, and the ſeiſing upon the Militia and Magazines of London and Weſtminſter, together with thoſe that now are the prime managers and diſpoſers thereof; that theſe were the ready way to deſtroy the forces rayſed by the Parliament, to ſurpriſe thoſe Cities, and to force the Parliament, ſeemes clearly to be demonſtrated by the forenamed City Orator. Take only the extract of his Arguments in the caſe. The ſeiſing upon the Militia of London and Weſtminſter, muſt needs be a ſurpriſing of thoſe Cities themſelves: the ſurpriſing of thoſe Cities, is a deſtroying of the forces rayſed by the Lords and Commons in Parliament, if not by force, yet by want of ſupply and maintenance, (obſerve by the way, what maner of deſtruction intended againſt the Parliaments forces, is heere acknowledged:) and if the forces rayſed by the Parliament, were once deſtroyed, (that is, wanted ſupply and maintenance) and then (which is the moſt terrible) if thoſe named Members of both Houſes, and ſome few others of their temper and ſpirit, together with their faſt friends and ſworne ſlaves of the City, were once layd hold on, the reſt of both thoſe Honourable Houſes, being but the carkaſe and ſhadow of a Parliament, (as Mr. *Pym* in his Common-hall ſpeech, doth not only call, but labour to prove them) alas, what would they doe? certainly that carkaſe would move in no other motion, then according as the returning ſoule, (the known Lawes of the Land, and the juſt priviledges of Parliament) would ſteere it, and not according as every furious and factious ſpirit ſhould thinke to hurry it: and queſtionleſſe, that ſhadow would not follow any other, then its owne full, compleat, repreſentative Body; not a cloſe Committee, or a few ſeditious, rebellious Citizens. And then tis likely, there would be a ſweet correſpondence betwixt the King and them, the King yeelding to them as much, as they would in due obſervance be willing to

propound to him, and they granting to the King as much as he could with honour deſire of them. And heer truly would be ſuch a forcing of the Parliament, as this Kingdome hath not knowne theſe many yeeres: and yet all this is farre enough from a treacherous and horrid deſigne. Only thus much (we humbly thanke him for it) Mr. *Pym* diſcovery renders viſible to every eye, that will not ſhut it ſelfe againſt the light. That were but the Militia of the Cities of London and Weſtminſter, with their Magazines in ſome mens hands, with whom, (as hath beene at large declared by able and ſound Lawyers) the King may of right intruſt it; and were but the maintenance and ſupply which thoſe two Cities ſubminiſter to the Parliaments army, withheld or ſtopt, and then (which would follow of it ſelfe, unleſſe they made the more haſte to flie from it) were but ſome few Members of both Houſes, together with ſome buſie Citizens, laid hold on, and laid up in hold, (as there are priſons enough, and to ſpare, ready provided, in and about London) till they could be brought to a legall triall for that Treaſon, whereof by Proclamation they ſtand charged by the King, our Land would ſoone enjoy her glorious reſt and peace again: nay, happily if the laſt were but acted, we ſhould ſpeedily ſee the laſt Act of this bloody Tragedy (wherein this miſerable Kingdome is ingaged) hiſt off, and beaten off the Stage, by its greateſt Applauders. And therefore were thoſe few perſons, at whom the late ſtrange, treacherous, horrid deſigne aymed, men of that pietty towards God, and of that tender compaſſion and bowels towards their bleeding and periſhing Country that they pretend to be, they would, *Jonah*-like, (now they ſee the Church and State, wherein they are imbarqued, ready to be overwhelmed or ſplit, by the boyſterous waves and tempeſtuous windes of theſe raging times, and principally for their ſakes) deliver themſelves up to be caſt forth, or otherwiſe expoſed, even to death it ſelfe, that there might be a calm: and likewiſe they that have hitherto rowed them, (now they have ſhewne their love and affection to them, in rowing ſo hard to ſet them ſafe on ſhore, and ſee that they cannot, the ſea working and growing more and more tempeſtuous againſt them, by the mighty coworking of him that commands both ſea and wind, and they obey him) me thinks they ſhould, (after prayers and cries to God, to keep them from the guilt of their blood) not take them up, and caſt them

forth

forth into the ſea, but ſhut them up, and keepe them ſafe, till they ſee whether a juſt and legall triall, (ſo often demanded) will judge them worthy to be caſt forth or not; and if it appear they ſo deſerve, I hope it is neither traiterous nor horrid to ſay, it were better that milſtones were hanged about their necks, and they caſt into the bottome of the ſea, then that the whole Kingdome for their ſakes ſhould be caſt away and periſh.

And thus we have viewed the three maine pillars upon which the ſtructure of this new oath is built. Now fearing leſt all three might prove too weake to raiſe ſuch a weighty building upon, there is a buttreſſe or by-arch joyned to them all for their better underpropping plaiſtred over with theſe words. And the ſaid Lords and Commons finding by conſtant experience, that many wayes of force and treachery are continually attempted to bring to utter ruine and deſtruction the Parliament and Kingdom, and that which is deareſt the true Proteſtant Religion.

This Arch is made up of the ſame materialls with the three maine pillars, and ſo it is not materiall whether any other examination bee made of it or not, for they ſtand and fall together, only we may obſerve, if you pleaſe, that whereas we were told but of one Popiſh and traiterous plot that hath been and now is for the ſubverſion of the true Proteſtant Reformed Religion, &c. as alſo but of one treacherous and horrid deſigne, and that lately diſcovered to deſtroy &c. here we are invited (if not commanded) to beleeve that many wayes of force and treachery are continually attempted for the ſame ends. It ſeems theſe many wayes of force and treachery that have been found by conſtant experience to be continually attempted to bring to utter ruine and deſtruction the Parliament and Kingdome, and the true Proteſtant Religion, were ſuch, as were not worthy of the name of plots or deſignes, at leaſt not Popiſh plots or horrid deſignes; or elſe they were very unworthy, who having found them out, would not to this day diſcover what they were; for beſides the bringing up of the Northerne Army, and the King going once more then ordinarily attended to ſurpriſe the five Members (which muſt needs be included in the Popiſh and traiterous plot firſt mentioned, and hath been againe and againe anſwered by His ſacred Majeſty) we never heard (till now this traiterous and horrid deſigne was diſcove-

covered) of any one way of force or treachery, that ever was assayed to compasse any of the ends here declared: But something must bee said to scare the people (if it be possible) quite out of their wits, loyalty, Religion and all, or else this grand plot of plots, and designe of designes, the taking of this new Oath will hardly take effect.

These premises being laid, this conclusion is inforced, That for the preventing and withstanding the same, they have thought fit, that all, who are true hearted, and lovers of their Country should binde themselves each to other in a sacred Vow and Covenant, &c.

Now although (as you know) the premises being false, the conclusion alwayes falls of it selfe; yet because there is more crowded into this conclusion, then can be inferred from the premises, and we are like to be forced to hold to the conclusion whatsoever the premises are, it will not be amisse to speake a word or two of that also.

First, it is declared that for the preventing, &c. The Lords and Commons have thought fit, &c.

Here are very gentle termes, as though the Contrivers of this oath desired only to intimate their opinion of the conveniency of taking it, & would compell none to it, but leave it to the liberty of every conscience whether they would take it or not; when as tis to be feared, a few dayes experience will assure us, that it is intended as the Shibboleth of this Nation, and either take this oath, and be perjured, (if not worse) or take it not, and be plundred, imprisoned, if not banished from house and Country, will be all the liberty our oppressed consciences shall obtaine. But not to prejudge or propheſie. Take the expression as it is, They have thought fit such a Vow or Covenant should be made by all that are, &c. and tis not fit that any that are such should scruple it. Well, but if the taking this solemne oath, or making this sacred Vow and Covenant, be but a thing fitting and convenient, and not of extraordinary, much lesse of extream necessity: it hath ever been a ruled case in Divinity, that a solemne oath, sacred vow or covenant ought not in such a case to be required or made. Besides, (which I must againe and againe put you in minde of) if all, that is declared in the introduction to this oath were true, & knowne to us all so to be: We have lately so solemnly protested and sworne in that protestation or oath recommended unto us from the House of Commons, That to our power, and as far as lawfully we

may

may, we will oppoſe, and by all good wayes and meanes endeavour to bring to condigne puniſhment all ſuch, as ſhall either by force, plots, conſpiracies or otherwiſe, doe any thing contrary to the true reformed Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſhed, (ſo far eſpecially as that is oppoſite to Popery, or Popiſh innovations) or againſt His Majeſties royall Perſon, Honour, and Eſtate, or againſt the power and priviledges of Parliament, or againſt the lawfull rights and liberties of the Subject, or againſt any perſon that made that proteſtation in whatſoever he ſhould doe in the lawfull purſuance of the ſame; that if there be no more aimed at in the impoſing this oath, then what is lawfull, juſt, and faire, in any or all thoſe pretended grounds or reaſons alledged in the introduction for that purpoſe, we have already as deeply and firmly ingaged and bound our ſelves thereunto as any Chriſtian can poſſibly require us. They have but little charity, who after an oath made of ſuch and ſuch things ſo lately, ſhall now againe require another oath to be taken for the confirmation of the ſame things. Furthermore, when the King in his going againſt the Scots, did at York cauſe an oath to be tendred to the Lords and others then attending His ſacred Perſon, it was anſwered by the Lords, and that anſwer accepted and reſted in by His Majeſty, that they humbly conceived, that no oath ought to be tendred either to them, or to any other His Majeſties Subjects, but what Himſelfe and the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parlia. had firſt conſented unto. And (which cannot be ſo ſoone forgotten) at the beginning of this Parliament, that unhappy oath compoſed by that unfortunate Convocation, and aſſented unto by the King, was by the Houſe of Commons (and by the Houſe of Lords too, if I much miſtake not) utterly damned, (as the expreſſion then was) and the Members of the Convocation judged guilty of little leſſe then a premunire, for that it was by them decreed to be tendred to the Subject without any act paſſed in Parliament for the ſame. We beſeech them therefore, that that which was thought reaſon and Law then, may not be ſo ſoone not only thought none, but the flat contrary thought fit, and practiſed by the ſame perſons.

It followes in the inference, That all that are true hearted and lovers of their Country ſhould binde themſelves, &c.

Theſe are conjuring words to the Country people, and of very

large compaſſe; had they declared, that all that are true hearted, and lovers of the true Proteſtant Reformed Religion, ſhould binde themſelves, &c. it might have made Papiſts, Anabaptiſts, Browniſts, and ſuch like to have ſtartled at it; whereas this calling upon all that are true hearted and lovers of their Country, may chance to fetch them and all in; and the truth is, let each part of this oath bee throughly ſcanned, there will be very little or nothing found in it, but what all Papiſts, Anabaptiſts, and Browniſts, that thinke themſelves in their owne ſenſe true hearted and lovers of their Country, and have not taken the oath of Allegiance, Supremancy, and the laſt Proteſtation, may more ſafely ſweare, vow, or covenant, then they that are true hearted Proteſtants, and reall lovers of the Reformed Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſhed in the Church of England. All that I can ſee which may cauſe them to ſcruple it, is this: They muſt ſweare that they do in their conſciences beleeve, That the forces raiſed and continued by the two Houſes of Parliament, are raiſed and continued for the defence of the true Proteſtant Religion, &c. and that they will aſſiſt thoſe forces againſt the forces raiſed by the King. And I beſeech you, why may not Papiſts, Anabaptiſts and Browniſts, both beleeve this in their conſciences, and yeeld this aſſiſtance, as well, or better then any true hearted Proteſtant, that loves the true Reformed Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſhed. And it muſt needs be thought very fit, that ſuch a ſacred vow and covenant be made and taken by us true hearted Subjects and lovers of the true Proteſtant Religion, for the defence of our Religion and Liberties, which ſuch profeſſed enemies to our Religion and Liberties, may with more ſafety of conſcience make or take then we.

But not to dwell any longer upon the Introduction. In the laſt place, it will not be amiſſe to obſerve, under what Names this new Oath is recommended unto us: *viz.* Under the names of a ſacred vow and covenant. I doe not uſe to boggle at Names; but theſe are the times of Jealouſies and Feares, and it cannot bee expected but ſome will be fearefull and jealous of the Declarations and Actions of the Lords and Commons now aſſembled in Parliament, as well as they have beene, and ſtill are of others; and therefore, I truſt, 'tis a pardonable ſinne, (if any) to ſay, I like this Oath ſomwhat the worſe, for

for its appearing to us, under that borrowed name of ſacred vow and covenant, and not under its owne proper name, An Oath. I ever ſuſpected the ſhifting of Names; and I would faine know ſome reaſon (if it might be imparted to ſuch a one as I am) why it ſhould not (being an atteſtation, or calling God to witnes for the confirmation of what is aſſerted or promiſed, which is as full, compleate, and formall an Oath, as can be taken) be tendred unto us under the name of an oath, rather then under the name of a ſacred vow and covenant? Is it to facilitate the taking of it? there being many thouſands of the ordinary ſort of people, that feare the taking of an oath, eſpecially a ſolemne, publike oath, having beene often taught the perill of it; who will never ſtartle at the making a vow or covenant, being leſſe inſtructed, if not altogether ignorant of the nature of it. Or are not theſe borrowed names uſed, to hold the people more fully and firmly to this oath, when tis once taken? So that, if the people after this oath taken, ſhould begin to doubt, whether it bee not flatly contrary to their oath of Allegiance, to their oath of Supremacy, and to their late Proteſtation, (as without doubt it is) and thereupon either thinke this oath abſolutely void, or queſtion whether this or the former oathes were the more obliging, it would be an advantage which the Time-ſerving-Preachers would not let ſlip, to tell the people, That this their laſt oath is to be held to, before all their former; becauſe it is not only an oath, as they were, but alſo a ſacred vow and covenant, I am ſure leſſe advantages have beene made uſe of by thoſe new Teachers. But no more of the Name, wiſhing from my ſoule that it had never beene named amongſt Chriſtians.

Come we to the Oath it ſelfe. Concerning which, for the ſatiſfying of my owne conſcience, and the conſciences of as many as you ſhall pleaſe to acquaint therewith, I deſire that one rule for the right taking of an oath may be throughly conſidered, and each part of this preſent Oath, examined according to that Rule. The Rule is that of Gods own preſcribing, by his Prophet *Jeremiah*, 4.2. Thou ſhalt ſweare, The Lord liveth, in Truth, in Iudgement, and in Righteouſneſſe: that is, in few words: Thou ſhalt ſweare to nothing, calling God, who liveth for ever, as a witneſſe thereunto, but what is True, and what thou knoweſt and art ſure of, and what is juſt and righteous. Theſe three qualifications ought to bee the boundaries

and limits of every oath ; and hee ſinneth highly againſt the expreſſe Command of God, and ſo hazards his Soule in a moſt perillous maner, that fayleth in any one of theſe. According unto theſe then, let us in the Name of God examine the ſeverall parts of this new Oath.

Firſt, every man that taketh this Oath is required to declare, and that in reverence and humility to the Divine Majeſty, and (as tis in the cloſe of the oath) in the preſence of Almighty God the ſearcher of all hearts, as he will anſwer at the great day when the ſecrets of all hearts ſhall be diſcloſed, his hearty ſorrow for his owne ſinnes, and the ſinnes of this Nation, &c. and that his true intention is by Gods grace to endevour the amendment of his owne wayes. Concerning which I propound theſe two *Queres*.

1. *Quer.* How thouſands and ten thouſands in this Nation can ſwear this in Truth, when as, poore ſouls, if all ſhould take this oath that are by this Ordinance required, tis to be feared there would be no fewer, whoſe very hearts would give their mouthes the lie, and whoſe very immediat actions would teſtifie againſt them to the contrary : for, alas, how few are there who attaine to that height of grace and goodnes, as to be heartily ſorry either for their owne ſins, or the ſinnes of the Nation ? Oh that there were ſuch an heart in them (ſayd God once of Iſrael, when they all promiſed that they would heare whatſoever God ſpake to Moſes and doe it) that they would feare me, and keepe all my commandements alwaies, that it might be well with them, and with their children for ever : and, oh, that there were now ſuch an heart in us all of this Nation, will all good men wiſh, that we would all in earneſt be heartily ſorry for our owne ſinnes, and the ſinnes of this Nation ; and that wee did really intend an amendment of our owne wayes : for then, to bee ſure, it would be well with us, and with our children after us. But for ſo many thouſands, nay the moſt of us, to declare, and ſweare this in the preſence of Almighty God, the ſearcher of all hearts, when both God that ſearcheth our hearts, and our own hearts themſelves know, that it is not ſo : what will this doe, but infinitely adde to our ſinnes, and provoke God to adde to our calamities and judgements both perſonall and Nationall ? How many fowle, abominable, crying ſinnes are there, whereof you and I know multitudes, (I would we could

could exempt the Impoſers of this new Oath) to bee deeply guilty, which the moſt of them will not acknowledge to be ſinnes, but juſtifie themſelves in them, ſo far as they are from being heartily ſorry for them, or intending any amendment of them. As for inſtance, uncharitablenes, lying, ſlandering, rapine, oppreſſion, diſobedience, blooſhed, and rebellion; and yet they that are moſt conſcious of ſuch crimes will, (tis likely) with the firſt declare or ſweare in the preſence of Almighty God, and as they will anſwer it at the great day, &c. that they are heartily ſorry for their owne ſinnes, &c. and intend amendment. Thus whilſt we profeſſe to enter into a ſacred covenant, and by that to binde our ſelves to bewaile and forſake our ſinnes, (the acknowledged cauſes of our preſent calamities and judgements) we doe but mocke God, ſpeaking words and ſwearing falſly in making a covenant, which makes our judgements to grow the more, ſpringing up like hemlocke in furrowes of the field, *Hoſea* 10.4. Let us then pray, and that earneſtly, that God would bee pleaſed, according to his promiſe *Jerem.* 31. to make a new covenant with us, and to put his law in our inward parts, and write it in our hearts, or (as the Prophet *Ezekiel* expreſſeth that covenant *Ezek.* 11. 19.20.) that he would give us one heart, and put a new ſpirit within us, and take the ſtony heart out of our fleſh, and give us an heart of fleſh, that we may walke in his ſtatutes, &c. But let us take heede how we ſweare or declare in the preſence of God, that our ſtony heart is taken from us, and that an heart of fleſh, that is, a ſoftened, mollifyed penitent heart is given us, when our hearts aſſure us, that there is no ſuch worke wrought in us, as alſo that wee intend an amendment of our waies, for the future, when wee intend nothing leſſe.

2. *Quer.* What ſinnes are to be accounted the ſinnes of the Nation? that ſo we may ſwear in judgement, knowing what we ſwear. And to this purpoſe it may be queſtioned, whether the late ſuperſtitious practiſes and innovations, againſt which there have beene ſo many Declamations, are to be reputed ſinnes of this Nation? and how many are or will be heartily ſorry for them, though they have beene no little cauſe of our preſent ſorrowes? as alſo whether Anabaptiſticall, Browniſticall, and other Separatiſticall practiſes and poſitions, connived at, if not countenanced, by thoſe who ought to ſup-

ſuppreſſe and puniſh the Authors and Fautors thereof, and to bee eſteemed ſinnes of the Nation; and how many will declare their ſorrow for them, though our preſent ſorrowes are fomented and continued by them? as further, whether plundering, robbing, and ſpoyling, whether ſpeaking evill of Dignities, and ſlandering both the footſteps and perſon of the Lords Anointed; whether falſe ſwearing and perjury, whereof our oathes of Allegiance, Supremacy, and late *Proteſtation* are pregnant witneſſes; are to be numbred amongſt the ſinnes of this Nation? and how many will declare their hearty ſorrow for them, though like to increaſe our ſorrowes to our being overwhelmed by them? Or whether only thoſe ſinnes not long ſince Declared by publique Order of the Lords and Commons, Feb. 15. 1642. and appointed to be read in all Churches and Chapels, &c. be the ſinnes of this Nation? *viz.* The high contempt of Gods holy Ordinances, &c. Multitudes of oathes, and blaſphemies, &c. envy, contentions, and unnaturall diviſions, oppreſſion, fraud and violence, as alſo whether the blood ſhed in the dayes of Queene *Mary*, and Idolatry then and ſince, are to be adjudged the ſinnes of this Nation, and our ſorrowes to be terminated in lamenting them? This I humbly conceive were fit to be declared before we ſweare or declare in the preſence of God, and as we will anſwer at the great day, &c. that we are heartily ſorry for the ſinnes of this Nation. What wee doe declare our hearty ſorrow for in private, every mans owne conſcience regulates him in: but when we make a publique, ſolemne declaration of our ſorrow for the whole Nations ſinnes, and enter into a ſacred covenant with God, not to commit the like ſinnes againe, it is but reaſon, that as many ſinnes of the Nation as can be thought on, at leaſt the moſt notorious, ſhould be publikely named; that ſo the people may know what ſinnes in ſpeciall they profeſſe themſelves ſorry for, and promiſe amendment of; This hath beene obſerved in making covenants, which were ſacred indeed, concerning Nationall ſinnes: as, in that covenant which *Joſhua* called upon the people to make, *Joſh.* 24. that appointed by *Aſa*, 2. *Chr.* 15. that appointed by *Joſiah*, 2. *Chr.* 34. and that appointed by *Ezra*, *Ezr.* 10. In all which covenants you ſhall finde the principall Nationall ſins, of which, they declared their deteſtation, and promiſed amendment, particularly Named. But indeed every one of thoſe covenants were

entred

entred into by the command and authority of the ſupreme Gpvernour; and it is not to be found in ſacred Writ, where ever there was any ſacred Nationall Covenant enjoyned by any, ſave by the King, or ſupreme of that Nation; or by the expreſſe authority derived from Him. But no more of this firſt part of the Covenant, it being as I verily beleeve, the leaſt part intended by the Contrivers of it; only it is ſet in the firſt place, that looking upon that, our eyes may be ſo dazled with the glorious ſpecious religiouſneſſe of it, as not to bee able to diſcover the foule, abominable iniquity of the reſt.

The ſecond thing required in this oath, is, That we ſweare or declare in the preſence of Almighty God, that we doe abhorre and deteſt the ſaid wicked and treacherous deſigne lately diſcovered, and that we never gave, nor will give our aſſent to the execution thereof, but will according to our power and vocations oppoſe and reſiſt the ſame, and all other of the like nature: concerning which, I make theſe foure Quæres.

1. *Quer.* How is it poſſible for the moſt of men to ſweare this in judgement, according to the ſecond neceſſary condition of a lawfull oath, ſeeing tis no where declared by the Lords and Commons, what that wicked and treacherous deſign was, further then in the generall (and generalls are no ſufficient ground for the abjuring any particular) only Mr. *Pym* hath collected ſome particulars of it in his ſpeech before mentioned: but how ſhall thouſands reach that collection? And when they have it, what proofes and teſtimonies doth he bring to convince any reaſonable man of the undoubted truth of what he ſaith? It ſeems by that very ſpeech, that himſelfe and the reſt of the Houſe of Commons, who know moſt of it, do not know it throughly, or at leaſt doubt whether they doe or not, for that pardon is offered by him in their names to any (except thoſe who are taken or fled) that ſhall within 15. dayes diſcover what he knowes of this conſpiracy. And will any man that knowes what God is, call him to witneſſe, that he abhorres and deteſts that which he doth not certainly know. Tis to be feared God will abhor that man as an extreame vaine fooliſh man, that ſhall ſo vainly and foolishly prophane his great name; and ſuch a man may eaſily be induced to ſweare an abhorment and deteſtation of what God moſt likes and loves, he knowing as little of that, as of this.

But

But ſuppoſe the deſigne be ſufficiently declared, though not ſo fully as ſome deſire it might be; yet Mr. *Pym* himſelfe hath withall declared that of it in his fore cited ſpeech, that would move any loyall Subject to make a ſecond Quære.

2. *Quar.* Whether any ſuch can ſweare juſtly and righteouſly, that the deſigne diſcovered is ſuch a wicked and treacherous deſigne as ought to be abhorred & deteſted by him, for beſides the intentions or aimes of it (whereof you heard in the introduction) he tells us, that for the principles of it, it did riſe from the aſhes of another deſigne that failed, namely, that mutinous Petition for Peace (as he is pleaſed to honour it by his quiet Epithite) contrived in the City, and how that was to be abhorred and deteſted, let every true lover of peace judge: Then for the ſteps of it, he aſſureth us, that it came to that high ſtep at the laſt, how they might procure power and countenance to the action by authority from His Majeſty in the way of Commiſſion, and this, ſaith he afterwards, they did procure, and this doth not render it very horrible and deteſtable, unleſſe to thoſe that abhor to obey any Commiſſion that His Majeſty grants: So for the Actors or Agents in it, he is pleaſed to cloud ſome in their generall qualifications or relations, and ſome few he cloaths with their owne names. In the generall, he tells us, that ſome Members of the City had a hand in this deſigne, whereof there were divers (they are his words) and ſome Members of both Houſes, and of the Lords Houſe (& if Mr. *Waller* were to be credited) of the ableſt, of the beſt, and of the greateſt; in particular, he names two Gentlemen, Mr. *Waller*, (as though Mr. *Waller* an eminent Parliament man were not worthy to be reckoned amongſt the Parliament Members) and his brother in law Mr. *Tomkins*, (I wonder he forgot Mrs. *Tomkins*, who was alſo apprehended and committed; but chaſte man he mindes not women, eſpecially others mens wives) and the Lord *Faulkland* one of the Secretaries of State. And how the deſign ſhould deſerve to be abhorred and deteſted from ſuch mens being the prime actors in it, is beyond my skill: I ſhould rather thinke the better, then the worſe of a deſigne for ſuch actors ſake: beſides (becauſe Mr. *Pym* ſhould have loſt his old wont, if he had made any ſpeech (eſpecially to the Citizens) without throwing ſome dirt in the Kings face) we are further let know from the ſame mouth, that this matter was proſecuted in

part,

part, and agitated and promoted by thoſe which were ſent from His Majeſty, and ſeemed to be Meſſengers of Peace; and (for fear any ſhould thinke he aimed only at the Kings Meſſengers, and not at the King Himſelfe) in the ſame breath he falls foule and heavy (like himſelf) upon the Kings gracious Meſſage of Peace, and would fain inſinuate that thoſe Meſſages ſent by His Majeſty were but to amuſe the people with pretences of peace, whilſt this villanous project was a working, and ſo the King is made one and (perhaps Mr. *Pym* will allow Him in this ſo much of His royall Title) the chiefe of this conſpiracy, and what true hearted Subject will be eaſily induced to ſay, much leſſe to ſweare that he abhorres and deteſts as wicked and treacherous that deſign, whereof his Sovereigne is not only throughly informed, but is (with reverence to His Sacred Majeſty be thoſe termes uſed) the chiefe Complotter and Abettor?

3. *Quer.* Whether the ſwearing that I never gave my aſſent to that deſigne, be not to all thoſe that had any finger therein (and they are voiced to be many thouſands) as ſore an oath, and as much betraying either of their ſoules to the hazard of hell, or of their bodies and eſtates to the probability of utter ruine, as ever the oath *ex officio* was, ſo much cryed out upon in the world? This I am ſure of, upon the diſcovery of all the wicked, treacherous, horrid, deteſtable deſignes that have been in this Kingdome ſince the Reformation, whether powder-treaſon, or what other ſoever, there was never the like courſe of ſoul-cruelty taken, for the inſnaring of ſo many ſoules: the Lord in His mercy looke upon them, and deliver them.

4. *Quer.* Whether the adding of theſe words, Nor will give my aſſent to the execution thereof, but will according to my power and vocation oppoſe and reſiſt the ſame, and all other of the like nature, &c. doe not argue ſtrongly that the deſigne was of that nature, that if it ſhould appeare in its owne colours, it would appeare ſo fair, that multitudes would yet aſſent to the putting it into execution? and therefore is not ſo horrid and deteſtable as ſome would make us beleeve; for certainly if it were ſo, the whole Kingdome need not to be ſworne never to aſſent to the execution of it after tis once diſcovered, but to their power to oppoſe and reſiſt the ſame, and all other of the like nature; every man would of his owne accord ſet himſelfe againſt it with all his might and power.

The third thing tendred in this oath is, That in caſe any other deſigne ſhall hereafter come to our knowledge, we will make ſuch timely diſcovery as we ſhall conceive may beſt conduce to the preventing thereof. Concerning which, I ſhall only ſtart theſe two queſtions, 1. What is to be accounted for a deſigne. 2. Whether every man that takes this oath, be not truly bound to make ſuch timely diſcovery of whatſoever he knowes plotted, projected, contrived or purpoſed to the prejudice either of the King, Church or State, or any member thereof, that it may be prevented? Or whether the obligation of this oath be not reſtrained only to the diſcovery of deſignes againſt the two Houſes of Parliament, and eſpecially againſt thoſe Members of each Houſe againſt whom the late diſcovered deſigne is ſaid to be intended. And I would you durſt reſolve me freely and fully whether this particular oath be not ſuch a deſigne, as every man that knowes of the contriving thereof be not bound in conſcience to diſcover what he can of it, to the preventing of the ruining of ſo many thouſand poor ſouls as are like to be hazarded therby.

But to come to the main things aimed at in the impoſing this oath, thoſe indeed unto which all the preceding parts of the oath, are but a preparative, and have been themſelves prepared in a readineſſe, and reſolved upon by ſome to be gotten confirmed by an oath, long before the forenamed wicked and treacherous deſigne, now made ſo advantagious to ſet of this oath withall, was ever heard of, inſomuch that many ſober judicious men doe verily ſuſpect, that rather that deſigne is declared to be ſo wicked, treacherous, horrid and deteſtable, to draw on the taking the following part of this oath, then that any part of this oath, much leſſe the whole oath it ſelfe, was reſolved upon, as occaſioned by the wickedneſſe, treachery, horridneſſe, and deteſtableneſſe of that deſign, as ſome would perſwade us.

We are required in the fourth place to ſweare or declare in the preſence of Almighty God, That we doe in our conſciences believe, that the forces rayſed by the two Houſes of Parliament, are rayſed and continued for their juſt defence, and for the defence of the true Proteſtant Religion, and Liberties of the Subject, againſt the forces rayſed by the King. Where I intreat ſatisfaction in theſe *Quæres.*

1. *Quer.* Why is the defence of the King, heere left quite out, when

when as it hath beene ſo often profeſſed and declared, by the Lords and Commons, in their ſeverall Declarations and Ordinances, that they rayſed their forces for his defence in the firſt place? It ſeemes they are afraid to ſweare that, though they have often and often declared it: and why then ſhould we make their declarations ſo firme a ground of our faith, as thereupon to ſweare, that we do in our conſciences believe, that the forces rayſed by them, were rayſed and are continued for ſuch and ſuch ends, when they themſelves will not ſweare that they were rayſed for that end, which they have ſo many times declared?

2. *Quer.* How dare any man ſweare or declare in the preſence of Almighty God, &c. that he doth in his conſcience believe, that the forces rayſed by the two Houſes of Parliament, are rayſed and continued for their juſt defence, when the King hath made them ſo many gracious overtures of peace, and they have refuſed them, as appeares by ſundry Meſſages and Declarations, with the Anſwers and Replies, that have paſſed betwixt them: nay, when the King hath woed and intreated them, with ſuch ſweetnes of temper, and lownes of condeſcenſion, as never any Prince uſed towards Subjects, that they would both name the perſons, and appoint the place for a Treaty, betwixt him and them, for ſetling the peace of the Kingdome, and ending and quieting all differences betweene them: yet ſtill his offers have beene utterly rejected, unleſſe he would firſt take downe his Standard, and call in what Proclamations and Declarations he had made againſt ſome of the Members of both Houſes, and their proceedings (both which his Majeſty yeelded to do, ſo that they would revoke their Declarations againſt all perſons that aſſiſted him) as alſo leave his forces, and withdraw his protection both from ſuch perſons, as were by both Houſes voted Delinquents, and from all ſuch as ſhould afterwards bee ſo voted, as you may ſee more at large in his Majeſties gracious Meſſage to both Houſes of Parliament, ſent from Nottingham, Auguſt 25. 1642. The Anſwer of the Lords and Commons to that Meſſage. His Majeſties reply to that anſwer. Their anſwer and their Declaration to that reply, and the former Meſſage. And can it be beleeved that the defenſive part of this war (be it juſt or unjuſt) was on their ſide, when the King was thus the offerer and ſuer for peace, and they the refuſers requiring

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Him to yeeld to thoſe things, which could not poſſibly ſtand with His owne Honour and Safety, or with the ſafety of thoſe that are His moſt faithfull and loyall Subjects, called to His aſſiſtance by His Summons, and their Allegiance. Or can that be believed to be a defenſive War, much leſſe a War for a juſt defence, when many of the forces raiſed by them, were raiſed, and the Kings Goods, Armes, Townes, Shipping, and whole *Militia* were taken from Him, and made uſe of, and held againſt him, before any the leaſt warlike offence was offered them by any Forces raiſed by the King; as hath been ſufficiently cleared, both by His Majeſties Declarations, and upon our ſad and chargeable experience. Beſides, we were told from ſeverall Pulpits, about the time of the firſt Propoſi ions for Horſe, Plate, or Money, June 10. 1642. and often times ſince, that the Forces then in raiſing, and ſince raiſed by the Parliament, were to fetch the King from His evill Counſellours, and to remove them from Him; and this was afterwards againe promiſed to have been done within ſuch and ſuch a time, if we would contribute but the other odde forty or fifty thouſand pounds; and I aſſure you we beleeved it then, or elſe we had not parted with our monyes ſo freely. And therefore I cannot but wonder that we, who at the firſt raiſing of Forces by the Parliament, and ſome good time ſince, did verily beleeve, that thoſe forces were raiſed to catch away the King from His evill Counſellours, and to take away, or drive away His evill Counſellours from Him, promiſing our ſelves ſuch hopes of accompliſhing our deſires with ſo much eaſe and ſpeed, ſhould now ſweare that we do in our conſciences beleeve, that the ſame forces were raiſed for the juſt defence of the Parliament, as though the King had been then fetching them from their evill Counſellours, or their evill Counſellours from them. If only feares and jealouſies of the Kings intention to raiſe and leavy warre againſt His Parliament were a juſt cauſe or ground for His Parliament to leavy forces againſt Him, (which to grant would be of moſt dangerous conſequence both to King and Kingdome) perhaps ſome might thinke that the preſent Parliament now aſſembled, did feare, and were jealous of ſome ſuch thing, and ſo had cauſe to provide ſuch a defence: but how can we be perſwaded in our conſciences that thoſe feares and jealouſies were juſt, when upon the Kings firſt knowing that ſuch feares and jealouſies did poſ-

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ſeſſe them, He did not only declare the contrary, but did ſolemnly diſavow all ſuch intentions, profeſſing before God and the World, that he alwayes had, and then did abhorre all ſuch deſignes? And for the further clearing of His intentions in that particular, He deſired all His Nobility and Councell, then attending Him, to witneſſe with Him, whether they did ſee any colour of preparations or counſells, that might reaſonably beget a beliefe of any ſuch deſigne, and whether they were not fully perſwaded to the contrary, &c, whereupon the Nobility and Councell then preſent at yorke, being in number above forty, made a Declaration and Profeſſion in theſe words: *We whoſe names are under written, in obedience to His Majeſties deſire, and out of the duty which we owe to His Majeſties Honour, and to truth, being here upon the place, and witneſſes of His Majeſties frequent and earneſt Declarations and Profeſſions of His abhorring all deſignes of making war upon His Parliament, and not ſeeing any colour of preparations or counſels, that might reaſonably beget the beliefe of any ſuch deſigne; Do profeſſe before God, and teſtifie to all the world, that we are fully perſwaded that His Majeſty hath no ſuch intention, but that all His indeavours tend to the firm and conſtant ſetlement of the true Proteſtant Religion, the juſt priviledges of Parliament, the liberty of the Subject, the Law, Peace, and Proſperity of this Kingdome.* This ſolemne Profeſſion was made by the King, and atteſted by His Nobility and Councell, June 15. 1642. which was five dayes after that the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament had made certaine propoſitions and orders for the bringing in of Money, Plate, or Horſe, &c. for the maintaining an Army for their defence. So that (as I ſaid before) if feares and jealouſies of the Kings intentions of raiſing and leavying War againſt His Parliament, were a juſt cauſe or ground for his Parliament actually to raiſe or leavy forces againſt him; and if we could alſo in our conſciences believe, that ſuch feares and jealouſies did really and truly poſſeſſe both Houſes; yet when it appeares by ſuch evidence (as greater and better could not be given) that thoſe feares and jealouſies were not juſt: it is ſtrange to thinke what conſcience or faith, (I might adde what hope or charity) that man hath, that can anſwer or declare in the preſence of Almighty God, that he beleeveth in his conſcience that the forces raiſed by the Parliament upon that unjuſt ground or cauſe, were raiſed for their juſt defence.

3. *Quer.* How can any man ſweare in Judgement and in Truth, that he doth in his conſcience believe, that the forces raiſed by the two Houſes of Parliament, were raiſed, and are continued for the defence of the true Proteſtant Religion; when as firſt, if by the true Proteſtant Religion be meant that Proteſtant Religion, which is now eſtabliſhed (ſo far as ought can be ſaid to be eſtabliſhed) in the Church of England (as that muſt be meant, or otherwiſe we know not what the true Proteſtant Religion is, and ſo cannot take this oath in judgement) it hath been found by lamentable experience, that the true Proteſtant Religion hath been more invaded, impugned and blaſphemed by the forces raiſed by the two Houſes of Parliament, and their aſſiſtants and adherents, in thoſe parts where they have had the power, then ever it was ſince Queene *Maries* dayes, witneſſe the many uncivill, unhumane, unchriſtian attempts, aſſaults and outrages that have been committed by Anabaptiſts, Browniſts, and other Sectaries upon our eſtabliſhed Doctrine, upon our eſtabliſhed worſhip and ſervice of God, upon Gods holy Ordinances, and upon thoſe ſacred places wherein all theſe were wont to meet, and preſent themſelves to us in ſuch beauty and excellencie to our unſpeakable benefit and comfort. I muſt not forget, how the moſt pious, painfull, and orthodoxall Proteſtant Divines (they that in former times, when the Proteſtant Religion ſuffered moſt by another faction, bare the heat and burden of the oppoſition, and ſtood in the gap againſt Arminianiſme, and other innovations) have been ſince the raiſing of forces by the Parliament, and by the power thereof, abuſed, impriſoned, and cruelly handled, when others that then deſerted their ſtations, have been magnified and extolled, nay, when drunken, debauched, innovating drones, that have contributed towards the maintenance of the Parliaments forces, have been connived at and favoured, and if by chance apprehended, ſpeedily diſmiſſed, and ſet at liberty. He muſt have a ſtrong faith, and a ſtretching conſcience, that can beleeve in his conſcience, that theſe are markes or ſignes of defending the true Proteſtant Religion. If this be their defending of it, God ſend us our old Defendor thereof once againe reſtabliſhed in His Throne, and let theſe new defenders defend themſelves. Secondly, the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament did, no longer ſince then in March laſt, declare, and publiſh

publiſh to the world in that Ordinance of theirs, for the ſpeedy raiſing and leavying of money for the maintainance of the Army raiſed by the Parliament, that the only Cauſes for which they had raiſed, and did then continue an Army and Forces, were, firſt, for the neceſſary defence of themſelves (which may be ſomewhat more eaſily believed then for their juſt defence.) Seconly, for the neceſſary defence of this Kingdome from forraigne invaſions, a defence not now mentioned. And thirdly, for the bringing of notorious offenders to condigne puniſhment, a thing alſo (as was before hinted) altogether forgotten in this new oath. And if the Lords and Commons themſelves have ſo lately declared and acknowleded, that theſe were the only cauſes, for which they raiſed, and then continued their army and forces, they have no cauſe to take offence at any that ſhall not believe, that the ſame forces were raiſed and continued, for the defence of the true Proteſtant Religion. I praiſe God I have no ſuch Moon-faith.

4. *Quer.* How can any man ſweare in truth, That he doth in his conſcience believe, that the forces raiſed by the two Houſes are raiſed and continued for the defence of the liberties of the Subject, when by the raiſing and continuing of theſe Forces, firſt, the liberty of enjoying their owne goods, chattells, or lands. Secondly, the liberty of their trading and traffiquing. Thirdly, the liberty of their perſons. Fourthly, the liberty their conſciences towards God, their King, and their fellow-brethren. Fifthly, the liberty of their very lives, is dayly and hourely either taken or endeavoured to be taken from the beſt of Subjects, and all theſe contrary to the liberty of the eſtabliſhed knowne Lawes of this Land. Indeed, to Bankrupts and Spendthrifts, to Rogues, Theeves, Murtherers, and ſuch like, there is ſuch politick liberty of ſpoyling, robbing, plundering, and killing yeelded, to Anabaptiſts, Brownists, and other Sectaries, ſuch Eccleſiaſticall liberty of Conventicle, prating and printing permitted, and to all ſorts of factious, ſeditious, rebellious Miſcreants, ſuch liberty of lying, rayling, and blaſpheming indulged, as the like was never heard of, much leſſe tollerated and countenanced in any Chriſtian Common-wealth. And though we had ſuch faith as that we could beleeve that the forces raiſed by the two Houſes of Parliament were raiſed for the defence of the liberties of the Subject, yet when we poore oppreſſed, ſpoyled, and almoſt ruined Subjects, ſee, feele, and com-

complaine, that the fruits and effects thereof are ſo deſtructively contrary thereunto; we cannot poſſibly believe, that they are ſtill continued for the defence of our liberties; and therefore it is but juſt to deſire, that they, and only they be required to ſweat they do believe this, who have hitherto enjoyed their liberties.

5. *Quer.* How can any man ſweare in Judgement and Truth, that he doth in his conſcience beleeve, that the forces raiſed by the two Houſes, &c. were raiſed, and are continued for the juſt defence of theſe three things named in this oath, when that which ſhould juſtifie the defence of them, or any of them (if ought could poſſibly juſtifie it in thoſe wayes practiſed by them) I meane the knowne eſtabliſhed Law of this Land, is not only violated and juſtled out of place and power, but alſo quite left out of all defence and protection; now they come to ſweare or declare before the Lord, that thoſe things are, which they intend to defend. What may bee the reaſon thinke you, why in former Declarations and Ordinances of the Lords and Commons, it hath beene often profeſſed, that one maine end of their raiſing forces was for the defence of the Lawes of this Land, and yet now in this new oath, when they reckon up the main ends of rayſing and continuing the very ſame forces, the Laws of the Land are not once named. Certainly we might as ſafely ſweare, that we doe in our conſciences believe, that the ſayd forces were rayſed, and are continued for the defence of the Lawes of the Land, (notwithſtanding that the whole Land knowes that by thoſe forces, the Lawes of the Land have beene and are quite ſilenced and null'd) as we can ſweare that we doe in our conſciences believe, that they were rayſed and are continued for the juſt defence of the Parliament, and are for the defence of the true Proteſtant Religion, and liberties of the Subject. Only the Lawes of the Land are likely to bring in ſuch an heavy accuſation and ſore judgement againſt thoſe that have taken up Armes in this cauſe on the Parliament ſide, notwithſtanding all the ſpecious pretences of fair ſeeming ends, and are ſo Diametrically, or point blank to all Arbitrary power, that the beleeving that thoſe forces raiſed by the Parliament, were raiſed, and are continued for the defence of thoſe Lawes might well be ſpared.

6. *Quer.* How can any man ſweare either in Judgement or in Righteouſneſſe or in Truth, That he doth in his conſcience beleeve that

that the forces raiſed by the two Houſes, &c. were raiſed, and are continued for their owne juſt defence, and for the defence of the true Proteſtant Religion, and liberties of the Subject, againſt the forces raiſed by the King; when the King hath not only often and often profeſſed and declared, but at ſundry times moſt ſolemnly and deeply vowed, proteſted and ſworne (his Nobility and Councell, in number above forty, and in eſtate, honour, and worth not to be paralled throughout the Kingdome, atteſting and profeſſing the ſame, as you heard before) that he ever intended the ſafety and preſervation of all three, and when he did raiſe any forces, that he raiſed them to make good thoſe intentions, and (& to Gods glory, His Majeſties honour, and his Subjects comfort and benefit, be it publiſhed) hath to his utmoſt made them all good, in all places where his forces have been quartered ſince the firſt raiſing them to this preſent, as both his Armies, and many thouſands more are ready to depoſe it if that would ſatisfie. For my part, I aſcribe ſo much to the word of a King, and in particular to the word of pious, Religious King *Charles*, that what he declares in point of Truth, eſpecially concerning his Royall Intentions, I think my ſelfe bound in conſcience to beleeve, before all the Declarations of all others in the world; how much more, when ſo pious and religious a King as he is, hath ſo often vowed and ſworne ſuch and ſuch things, ought all His Subjects (eſpecially having all ſworne to maintaine His Honour againſt all that ſhall doe ought to the prejudice thereof,) ſo to honour Him, as to credit and beleeve his Vow and Oath, before the Declaration of a few of His Subjects, who have ſtrained (to ſay the leaſt, and with the moſt modeſty and reverence) their former oaths made to their Soveraigne, both by raiſing forces againſt Him, and by entring into this preſent vow and covenant againſt Him, and the forces raiſed by Him, as will be further demonſtrated by and by. It is well knowne to all knowing and underſtanding men, that a King is not capable of having thoſe by aimes and ends in making or taking an oath, or of thoſe many temptations of breaking or violating an oath when it is made or taken, that ſome of His Subjects may have. And though it ſhould be granted by all (as we know it is not) that the Lords and Commons remaining in the two Houſes of Parliament, are the repreſentative Body of the Kingdome, to doe for them, as well as to

conſult; yet certainly no ſober man will grant that every body in the Kingdome is bound to act and doe whatſoever they injoyne, be it good or evill, much leſſe that they ought to ſwear, that they doe in their conſciences beleeve whatſoever they do declare or ſwear: and although it were acknowledged that they are the repreſentative Body of the Kingdome, and ſo repreſentative, that the whole Kingdom were bound, either to doe, or ſuffer for not doing, whatſoever they enjoyne (as tis knowne we are not unleſſe our Head did conſent, and joyne with them) yet, ſtill I hope, none thinke them the repreſentative Soule of the Kingdome, ſo that, whatſoever they believe, or ſweare they believe, our ſouls are bound to beleeve the ſame. Nay further, had the Lords and Commons ſworne expreſly and punctually, that the forces raiſed by the two Houſes, &c. were raiſed and continued for thoſe three forementioned ends, yet ſtill for the reaſons before alledged, I cannot ſee why we ſhould ſwear that we doe believe the ſame: But when the Lords and Commons themſelves, that were the raiſers of thoſe forces, ſwear only, that they do in their conſciences believe that thoſe forces were raiſed, and are continued for thoſe ends (as being it ſeems fully perſwaded ſo, either by the cloſe Committee, or by ſome others that knew the certainty thereof.) One would thinke it were an act of charity and faith ſufficient, for others to be their compurgators ſo far, as to ſwear, that they doe believe that thoſe Lords and Commons doe believe ſo; and that it is too great a preſumption, to ſwear that they do in their conſciences believe that it was, and is ſo indeed. Believe me in any other caſe, if any other perſons, whoſe truth and integrity is beſt knowne to us, had acknowledged that they themſelves had done this or that, and being ſuſpected, that they had done it for ſome evill intent or purpoſe, ſhould ſwear only that they doe in their conſciences believe, that they did it for ſuch, or ſuch an end, moſt fair and juſt, their very ſwearing ſo would cauſe more ſuſpition of them, then if they had held their peace, and ſaid nothing.

7. *Quer.* How dare any man ſweare or declare in the preſence of Almighty God, &c. that he doth in his conſcience believe, that the forces raiſed by the two Houſes of Parliament, are raiſed and continued for their juſt defence, and for the defence of the true Proteſtant Religion, and liberties of the Subject, againſt the forces raiſed

ſed by the King; when ſo to ſweare or declare, is to ſweare and declare in Gods preſence that he doth in his conſcience believe, that the forces raiſed by the King are raiſed and continued for the ſubverſion and ruine, at leaſt for the extream damage and detriment of all the ſame things? And what a hard caſe is it, that a man muſt be put to ſuch an oath, as to ſweare not only that he doth believe well of both Houſes of Parliamen, but alſo that he doth believe ſo much evill of a good King? as were He the worſt of Kings, worſe could not be thought of Him, all things conſidered? Why perhaps there may be ſome of ſo loyall and juſt thoughts towards their Sovereigne, and yet withall of ſo charitable and reverentiall thoughts towards both Houſes of Parliament, as to thinke that the forces on each part were raiſed and continued for the ſame ends, and they (thoſe three mentioned) only moſt unhappily differd in the meanes and wayes of accompliſhing thoſe ends. And what ſhall theſe poore ſouls do, when they cannot ſatisfie the Parliament by taking this oath, but they muſt thereby abandon all loyall thoughts of their King? Lord be thou their Directour.

It followeth in the oath, as an inference inforced from the laſt thing believed and ſworne, *I do here in the preſence of Almighty God declare, vow, and covenant, that I will according to my power and vocation aſſiſt the forces raiſed and continued by both Houſes of Parliament againſt the forces raiſed by the King, without their conſent.* Concerning which part of the oath, that I may ſtill keep withing the preſcribed bounds of a lawfull oath, I deſire theſe *Queries* may be cleared.

1. *Quer.* What is here meant by Vocation, that ſo we may ſwear in judgement knowing what we ſwear? whether are we to underſtand by Vocation, that ordinary courſe of life, or externall profeſſion, whereunto God doth ordinarily call men, and where he doth externally place them? as when ſome are called to be Paſtors and Teachers in the Church, others to be fed and taught; ſome are called to be Maſters, others to be Servants; ſome are called to be Husbandmen, others are called to be Tradeſmen, &c. or whether by Vocation here, may not be underſtood ſome extraordinary calling by ſecret inſpiration, divine revelation or the like; as certainly ſome ſuch calling muſt be preſuppoſed, or elſe I cannot ſee what warrant they can pretend for the aſſi ting any forces againſt their Sovereigne.

This *Quere* I could not baulke, becauſe the uſing of this expreſſion, *According to my Vocation*, is not any where to be found, that I know of any oath that hath been taken in this Nation, though the other limitation, *According to my power*, hath been uſuall in moſt or all our promiſſorie oaths; which makes me to think that ſome Divine or other was the framer and contriver of this new oath, or at leaſt had a great hand in it (howſoever it was pretended to have been ſuddenly framed by ſome Members of the Houſe of Commons upon the diſcovery of the great deſigne) and being called to that calling, his conſcience minded him ſomewhat of the unlawfulneſſe and unſeemlineſſe for a Miniſter of the Goſpel of peace to be an aſſiſtant in war, eſpecially in ſuch a war; or elſe rather he thought, that the adding of this limitation, *According to my vocation*, would excuſe him both from contributing much money to the warre, as alſo from hazarding his owne perſon in it (as ſome of their furious brethren to their ſhame and confuſion have done) ſo that he did but in his preaching, and by his praying, thoſe two glorious, but now prophaned and blaſphemed Ordinances, intice and ſtir up others thereunto: But then I cannot but ſtill wonder why the Lords ſhould each of them ſweare, *According to my vocation, &c.* I believe if one ſhould aske any of their Lordſhips what vocation he is of, he would not take it well; though for the Houſe of Commons, we know divers of them are of ſeverall vocations, and ſo this limitation might become them well enough.

2. *Quer.* How any man that profeſſeth himſelf to be either of the ſame judgement with the Church of England, and with the glorious Martyrs, and renowned Divines, and other learned Worthies, that have ſince the Reformation lived in this Church, or of the ſame judgement with any other of the reformed Churches, and the moſt renowned Members thereof, can ſwear in judgement, that he will aſſiſt any forces raiſed by Subjects, againſt the forces raiſed by their Sovereign, when it hath been ſo fully and amply declared by all thoſe Churches, and by their chiefe Worthies ſucceſſively in all times, that tis altogether unlawfull for any Subjects to take up Armes againſt their Sovereigne, though a Tyrant, though a perſecuter of the Goſpel, though never ſo wicked and ungodly, as is to be ſeen in our owne Homilies againſt Rebellion, in the Acts and Monuments of our Martyrs, in the Harmony of Confeſſions of the reformed Churches,

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in *Luther*, *Calvin*, *Oecolampadius*, *Zuinglius*, *Bucer*, *Peter Martyr*, *Capito*, *Bullinger*, and many other forraigne Divines, as alſo in multitudes of our moſt famous and pious Engliſh Divines, whoſe teſtimonies, with the teſtimonies of many others, I am credibly informed had been long ſince, for the ſatisfaction of thoſe that queſtion it, faithfully publiſhed by an orthodox Divine (now a priſoner in Ely Houſe) had not ſome of the Houſe of Commons prevented him by ſeizing upon his book whilſt it was in the Preſſe, as fearing all ſuch information of the people.

3. *Quer.* How any man that hath taken either the oath of Supremacy, or the oath of Allegiance, or the late Proteſtation, can without perjury *ipſo facto* ſweare, that he will according to his power aſſiſt the forces raiſed and continued by both Houſes of Parliament againſt the forces raiſed by the King, ſeeing all thoſe three oaths are ſo flatly and fully contrary to this part of this oath, of all the reſt; as firſt in the oath of Supremacy we ſweare, *That we did teſtifie, and declare in our conſciences, that the Kings Highneſſe is the only ſupreme Governour of this Realm, &c. and as well in all ſpirituall or Eccleſiaſticall things or cauſes, as temporall*; and if ſo, the juſt power of raiſing forces, and other power of the ſword doth only belong to Him, and none ought to raiſe any forces, or exerciſe any other power of the ſword, without His conſent, and without expreſſe authority derived from Him; the power of the ſword being that which principally makes and maintaines the Supremacy, and therefore aſcribed by the Apoſtle to the ſupreme power only, *Rom.* 13. 4. *He beareth not the ſword in vaine, for he is the Miniſter of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doth evill:* and to grant the Parliament a juſt power of raiſing forces without the Kings conſent (much more to grant them power of raiſing Arms contrary to His Proclamation, and other expreſſe Commands, and they againſt the forces raiſed by the King) is to ſet up two ſupreme Powers in one Kingdome, and ſo two ſwords one againſt another, and both to the ruine of the whole Kingdome.

Againe, we ſweare in the ſame oath, That *we would bear faith and true Allegiance to the Kings Highneſſe his Heires, &c. and that we would to our power aſſiſt and defend all Juriſdictions, Priviledges, Preheminences, and Authorities granted or belonging to the Kings Highneſſe, his heirs, &c.*

or united and annexed to the Imperial Crowne of the Realm. As alſo in the oath of Allegeance we ſwear, That *we would beare faith and Allegeance to His Majeſty, His Heires, &c. and that we would defend Him and them to the utmoſt of our power againſt all conſpiracies and attempts whatſoever, which ſhould be made againſt his or their perſons, their Crowne and dignity, either by reaſon of any Sentence or Declaration of the Pope or otherwiſe; and that we would doe our beſt endeavour to diſcloſe and make knowne unto his Majeſty, his Heires, &c. all treaſons, and traiterous conſpiracies, which we ſhould know or heare of, to be againſt him or any of them.* And laſtly, in our late Proteſtation, we ſweare to maintaine and defend with our lives and powers and eſtates according to the duty of our Allegeance, His Majeſties royall Perſon, Honour, and Eſtate; and to our power, and as far as lawfully we may, to oppoſe, and by all good meanes to endeavour to bring to condigne puniſhment all ſuch as ſhould either by force, plots, conſpiracies, or otherwiſe do any thing to the contrary. Now whether the aſſiſting of forces raiſed by ſome of the Kings Subjects againſt the forces raiſed by the King, be not expreſly and fully contrary to all theſe particulars promiſed and ſworn in all theſe oaths, let any indifferent man judge; as (to name ſome contrarieties for many) 1. Whether it be not uſurpation or incroachment upon the Juriſdictions, Priviledges, Preheminences or Authority granted or belonging to the Kings Highneſſe, and united and annexed to the Imperiall Crowne, and ſo flatly contrary to the oath of Supremacy. 2. Whether it be not an attempt, if not a conſpiracy, made againſt either the Kings Perſon, or his Crowne and Dignity, and ſo fully contrary to the oath of Allegeance. 3. Whether it be not hazardous to the Kings perſon, ſcandalous to His Honour, and detrimentall to His Eſtate, and ſo directly contrary to the late Proteſtation. Laſtly, whether it be not a breach of that faith, duty, and loyall ſubjection, which both by the bond of Allegeance, and by the commandement of Almighty God (as the Statute acknowledgeth 7. *Jac.* cap. 6) we ought to beare to His Majeſty, and ſo contrary to all three oaths, and to his expreſſe command, who is called to witneſſe both in them and this. For my part, I appeale only to that which is moſt concerned, and in moſt perill, I meane the conſcience of every one that hath taken the former oaths, and is required to this, wiſhing that every one that hath forgotten whether he

he ever tooke the oaths of Supremacy and Allegeance or not (as I feare there are not a few ſuch) that he would conſult with himſelfe, and the Statutes which enjoyne thoſe oaths, *viz.* 1. *Elizab. cap.* 1. & 5. *Elizab c.* 1. and 3. *Jacob. c.* 4 & 7. *Jacob. c.* 6. the comparing of this new oath with thoſe former oaths would occaſion a multitude of *Quæres* had ſome men the liberty of ſtarting them; I ſhall be bold only to point at one which in order to the preceding *Quæres* upon this part of this oath makes the fourth.

4. *Quær.* Whether the taking of a new oath, and recommending and tendring it to others, which is contrary to the oath of allegiance, as this new oath is, do not render the perſons ſo doing, guilty of the breach, and liable to the penalty of that branch in that ſtatute 3. *Jacob. cap.* 4. expreſſed in theſe words: And further bee it enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That if any perſon or perſons at any time, after the tenth of June, ſhall either upon the ſeas, or in any other place, within the Dominions of the Kings Majeſty, his heires, or ſucceſſors, put in practiſe to abſolve, perſwade, or withdraw any of the Subjects of the Kings Majeſty, or of his heires, or ſucceſſors of this Realme of England, from their naturall obedience to his Majeſty, his heires, or ſucceſſors, or to reconcile them to the Pope or See of Rome, or to move them or any of them, to promiſe obedience to any pretended authority of the See of Rome, or to any other Prince, State, or Potentate, That then every ſuch perſon, their procurers, counſellors, ayders and maintainers, knowing the ſame, ſhall bee to all intents adjudged Traitors, and being thereof lawfully convicted, ſhall have judgement, ſuffer and forfeyt, as in caſes of high Treaſon.

And if any ſuch perſon, as aforeſaid, &c. ſhall be willingly abſolved, or withdrawne as aforeſaid, or willingly reconciled, or promiſe obedience to any ſuch pretended authority, Prince, State, or Potentate, as aforeſaid, That every ſuch perſon or perſons, their procurers, counſellors, ayders, and maintainers, knowing the ſame, ſhall be to all intents adjudged Traytors, and being thereof lawfully convicted, ſhall have judgement, ſuffer, and forfeyt, as in caſe of high treaſon. See the like ſtat. 23. *Eliz. cap.* 1.

I could wiſh, that you would propound this Quære privately to ſome honeſt, able, faithfull Lawyer, and let me know his reſolution, it being of great and high concernment.

5. *Quær.*

5. *Quar.* Whether the ſwearing, that we will according to our power and vocation, aſſiſt the forces rayſed and continued by both Houſes of Parliament, againſt the forces rayſed by the King, doth not ſwear us up to do that, which will bring us within compaſſe of high Treaſon, declared by that ſtatute of 25. *Edw.* 3. *cap.* 2. wherein it is declared by the King at the requeſt of the Lords and Commons in that Parliament aſſembled, That it is high Treaſon to compaſſe or imagine the death of our Lord the King, or of our Lady his Queene, or of their eldeſt ſonne and heire: or if a man doe levy warre againſt our Lord the King in his Realme, or be adherent to the Kings enemies in his Realme, giving to them ayd and comfort in the Realme or elſwhere, and thereof be probably attainted of open deed by people of their condition, I believe, when the eſtabliſhed Law of this Land comes to be in force againe, it will puzzle all the Lawyers of this Kingdome to aſſoile us of that guilt, by the ſubtilleſt interpretations they can invent? And truly I doe not yet value eyther ſoule or body at ſo low a rate, as to venture eyther upon ſuch an hazard.

But ſuppoſe that it ſhould not be found high treaſon, yet I have another Quære to put concerning this oath, that will make many looke, before they leap into it, leſt they thereby leap out of a great part of their eſtates, and that is this.

6. *Quar.* Whether the taking this part of this oath and practiſing accordingly, do not expoſe as many as have Offices, Fees, Annuities, Honours, Lordſhips, Caſtles, Mannors, Lands, Tenements, and other poſſeſſions and hereditaments of the Kings gifts and grants, (which are throughout this Kingdome a conſiderable number) to an inavoydable forfeiture thereof, whenas by thoſe two ſtatutes, *viz.* 11. *Hen.* 7. *cap.* 18. & 19. *Hen.* 7. *cap.* 1. it is enacted, That every perſon or perſons within the Realme of England or Wales, that have any ſuch offices, fees, annuities, &c. and doth not in perſon attend upon the King being in perſon in warres againſt his enemies, and rebells within the ſame Realme or without, for repreſſing and ſubduing of them and their miſchievous purpoſe, ſhall forfeit all his offices, fees, annuities, &c, and that all the Kings gifts, grants, and letters patents, wherby they enjoy them, ſhall be utterly annulled, void, of none effect, and at the Kings pleaſure: unleſſe it be ſuch, as have ſpeciall licence under the Kings ſigne manuall or ſignet, or elſe have ſuch

ſuch unfeigned ſickeneſſe, letting, or diſeaſe, that he may not in his perſon come to doe that attendance.

The ſame Statutes, as they require ſuch attendance upon the Kings perſon in his warres more eſpecially, from ſuch men as have any promotion from the King, ſo they declare alſo, that every Subject by the duty of his Allegiance is bounden to ſerve and aſſiſt his Prince and ſovereigne Lord at all ſeaſons when need ſhall require, and what he ſhall be adjudged worthy to forfeit or ſuffer, that ſhall fail of that duty, any knowing Lawyer will ſoon informe you.

7. *Quer.* How can any man ſweare in Righteouſneſſe, that he will aſſiſt the forces raiſed and continued by both Houſes of Parliament againſt the forces raiſed by the King; when by the Lawes of the Land it is enacted, that no manner of perſon or perſons, whatſoever he or they be that attend upon the King and ſovereigne Lord of this Land for the time being in his perſon, &c. or be in other places by his commandment in his warres within this Land or without, ſhall for the ſame be either convict or attaint of high Treaſon, or any other offences, either by act of Parliament or otherwiſe by any proceſſe of Law, whereby to ſuffer any loſſe or damage, but for that deed and ſervice to be utterly diſcharged for any vexation, trouble or loſſe, and if any act or acts, or other proceſſe after the time of that act ſhall happen to be made contrary to that act, that then that act or acts, or other proceſſe of the Law whatſoever ſhall ſtand and be utterly void, 11. *Hen.* 7. *cap.* 1.

It is no wonder then, if in this new covenant, when we ſwear to aſſiſt the forces raiſed and continued by the two Houſes of Parliament againſt the forces raiſed by the King, that neceſſary reſtriction or limitation (ſo carefully inſerted in the late Proteſtation, *viz.* As far as lawfully I may, be here in this oath wholy omitted; when as the eſtabliſhed Laws of the Land are in ſo many things ſo fully contrary to all ſuch aſſiſtance, that if we had ſworne only to aſſiſt the Parliaments forces againſt the Kings forces, as farre as lawfully we may, we had ſworne not to aſſiſt them at all, but to our utmoſt to reſiſt and repreſſe them.

And whereas tis further intimated in this part of this oath, and in that which followeth, by way of aggravation againſt the Kings forces, that they were raiſed without the conſent of both Houſes of

Parliament: I would willingly bend an eare either to *Pris* himſelfe (that great pretender to Law and Parliaments, though a Traitor to both as well as to his King) or to any other that ſhall pleaſe to tell me of any one act of Parliament, of any other eſtabliſhed Law of this Land, that doth allow the two Houſes of Parliament in any caſe whatſoever to raiſe any forces without the conſent of the King, much leſſe againſt the Kings conſent, and againſt the Kings forces; or (which is a bold chalenge of one that is no Lawyer) that doth expreſly binde the King in no caſe whatſoever (no not for His owne ſafety and preſervation, nor for the ſafety and preſervation of His Kingdome, of the true Religion, of the Lawes of the Land, and liberties of the Subject, &c.) to raiſe any forces without the conſent of the two Houſes of Parliament. And if in any caſe the King may raiſe forces without the conſent of the two Houſes of Parliament, then ſurely much more in the preſent caſe, when not only all poſſibility of conſent from the two Houſes was impoſſibilitated, but the two Houſes themſelves had actually raiſed forces without the Kings conſent, and had ſeiſed upon the Kings Caſtles and Armes, and held them againſt Him. But I have ſtayed too long amongſt Acts and Statutes, the proper Authenticks of Lawyers: I returne to the Divine, of whom I deſire to favour moſt; and with his leave and likeing, I paſſe to the next clauſe of the oath; and that is yet more deſperate, if more deſperate can be, for having ſworne only in this laſt clauſe, That we will according to our power, &c. aſſiſt the publick open forces raiſed and continued by the two Houſes of Parliament againſt the forces raiſed by the King, we are required in the next clauſe to ſweare; That we will according to our power alſo aſſiſt all private and cloſe conſpirators in whatſoever they ſhall attempt or doe, either againſt the Kings forces, or againſt the King Himſelfe, His Queen, the Prince, or any other, ſo that what they attempt or doe, be but for the advantage of both Houſes, and their forces now on foot; the words import no leſſe, he that runs may read it.

And will likewiſe aſſiſt all other perſons that ſhall take this oath in what they ſhall doe in purſuance thereof, &c.

This is a hard ſaying, who can beare it? nay that is too too gentle a ſaying for it? This is a moſt terrible ſaying, what Chriſtian but will tremble at it?

For

For firſt, What if the Turke, Pope, or Spaniard ſhall by their agents or inſtruments, do ought in the purſuance of this buſineſſe (as I verily beleeve ſome of them have done too much) if thoſe agents or inſtruments will but take this oath (as certainly they may with no ſmall advantage to their Maſters) muſt I vow and covenant to aſſiſt them?

2. What if any Jeſuits, or Jeſuited Papiſts ſhall joyne in the purſuance of the Cauſe? Muſt I ſweare to aſſiſt them? Why then is there in the Introduction to this oath ſuch a loud complaint made of a Popiſh Army now on foot &c. It ſeems, that it is not their being Popiſh that troubles them, but their being an Army againſt their deſign, for it appears by this clauſe of this oath, That if an army of Papiſts would aſſiſt them againſt the Kings Forces, and take but this oath, they ſhould have their oaths, and the oaths of as many as they can prevaile with to ſwear that they will aſſiſt them in whatſoever they ſhall doe in that way. I will not queſtion their aſſiſting of Anabaptiſts, Browniſts, and other Sectaries, they are ſo deep in their protection and aſſiſtance already, that there needs no ſwearing to aſſiſt them.

But what thinke you in the third place, what if Monopolizers, Patentees, Projectors, ſcandalous Miniſters, &c. which not long ſince were rendred the very bane of the Kingdome, and unworthy to live, nay what if notorious Rogues, Theeves, Plunderers, Robbers, Murderers, inceſtuous perſons, perjured perſons, Traitors and Aſſaſinates ſhall to former impieties adde the taking of this oath? am I not likewiſe required by this clauſe to ſwear to aſſiſt them, and every of them? to leave perſons, and come to things; perhaps the things wherein I muſt ſweare to aſſiſt all perſons that ſhall take this oath, will prove ſuch, as that I may lawfully ſweare to aſſiſt any perſons in, be they otherwiſe never ſo lewd and wicked. Well, ſuppoſe that, (though as God abhorres wicked mens ſacrifices, ſo where I know them to be ſuch, I like not to be their aſſiſtants or companions in their moſt ſpecious undertakings) yet let us examine what things they are that we muſt ſweare to aſſiſt them in; why the oath it ſelfe tells us plainly, and without any limitation, that we muſt aſſiſt them in what they ſhall doe in the purſuance thereof, that is (as far as I am able to conſtrue it) in whatſoever they ſhall doe for the aſſiſtance or

advantage of the forces raiſed by the two Houſes, againſt the forces raiſed by the King: and here ariſeth a fourth Quære, (quiet it that can) What if any perſon or perſons ſhall in the purſuance of this buſineſſe, rob, ſpoyle, or plunder any of the Kings Subjects? What if he, or they ſhall betray, abuſe, or murder their owne fathers, brothers, maſters, or friends? What if they ſhall preach or print horrid lies and blaſphemies, beſides old rotten ends of long ſince condemned Hereſies mixt with new Sedition, Treaſon, and Rebellion? Nay what if any perſon or perſons ſhall in that purſuance mentioned, attempt the depoſing of our Soveraigne Lord the King, or (which is ſomewhat more to be trembled at in the very naming) the killing of Him, His royall Conſort, and all His hopefull Children? Doe not as many as take this oath, ſweare to aſſiſt them, and every of them that ſhall commit theſe and all theſe deteſtable execrable wickedneſſes, when they ſwear that they will aſſiſt every one that ſhall take this oath, without exception, in whatſoever he ſhall doe in the purſuance of that their Cauſe, without reſtriction? Yes doubtleſſe, unleſſe they ſweare with ſome mentall reſervation, which is Jeſuiticall, or with ſome reſervation orall (as tis ſaid ſome of the Lords tooke the whole oath) which in effect made it no oath, but a mock-oath. And therefore that forenamed limitation, As far as lawfully I may, might well have been here alſo inſerted, had it ſeemed good to the Contrivers of this oath. But tis likely they have ſome cauſe to the contrary; or whether they did or not, I am ſure we have juſt cauſe from hence to ſuſpect, that this oath aimes at more then yet the Contrivers of it dare diſcover. And let them now aſcend never ſo high, or dig never ſo deep, be it to dare Heaven with an attempt, or to ranſacke Hell for one, this clauſe of this oath once taken, will aſſure them of companions.

There is but one piece more of this new oath, beſides the cloſe and ſeale of all, that remaines to be opened, viz. *And will directly or indirectly adhere unto, nor ſhall willingly aſſiſt the forces raiſed by the King, without the conſent of both Houſes of Parliament*, and that hath beene already examined in the unveyling the preceding parts thereof. All therefore that I ſhall ſuperadde concerning it ſhall be wrapt up in this one Queſtion.

Queſt. What if God in his infinite mercy to this Nation, ſhall pleaſe

please to open the eyes of the blinded misled people thereof, or so to stop their dull and heavy ears, and so to molifie and humble their hard rebellious hearts, that yet once againe they shall see with their eyes, heare with their eares, and understand with their hearts those things that belong to their peace and happinesse? and to that purpose, both see and hear and understand, that their Sovereign Lord the King is in the right, and the Lords and Commons in Parliament are in an error? that tis he that hath raised forces (or rather God most miraculously by Him) for the safety of His owne Person, and for the defence of the true Protestant Religion, the Laws of the Land, the just priviledges of Parliament, and the liberties of the Subject, when others raised tumults, commotions and rebellion, to the inexpressible perill of the utter ruining and subverting of all those our Nations greatest blessings? what I say, if God of his unspeakable mercy to this Nation, and just vindication of Truth, shall make us to see and acknowledge this? Shall we before hand so swear our selves out of all mercy, by this last clause of this oath, that either we will not dare to acknowledge it when God shall manifest it; or if we do acknowledge it, we cannot either directly or indirectly make peace with, or subminister helpe and assistance unto those forces of our most gracious King, raised up by God for his owne Glory, our Sovereignes safety, and our own, and our posteritie's preservation and comfort, without being perjured? Lord keep thou our feet out of this snare.

Thus have I at last gotten through each part of this Covenant, except only that which I but now called the seale thereof, in these words: *And this vow and covenant I make in the presence of God, the searcher of all hearts, with a true intention to performe the same, as I shall answer it at the great day when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed.* Had this vow and covenant been made only of such things as are true and just, and known so to be unto all that are required to enter into it, the setting of this Seal had been requisite and necessary; but the Vow and Covenant it selfe being such (as it appears to be by the searching in to it) that no one intire clause of it can be taken (at least not of the promissory part, without transgressing fouly against one or more of those three inseparable conditions of a justifiable oath; in my apprehension, the requiring us to set to this Seale should be enough to terrifie all men (that know what the affixing to such a seal meaneth)

neth) from daring to enter into the place where this Covenant is taken, much more from entring into this Covenant it ſelfe, and ſetting this ſoul-ſcarring Seale thereunto. For how ſhall I (may every ſuch man ſay) how ſhall I make ſuch a Covenant as this in the preſence of Almighty God the ſearcher of all hearts? when he that ſearcheth my heart knoweth that ſome parts of it I underſtand not what they mean, ſome parts I doubt of whether they be true, ſome parts I know to be illegall and unjuſt; and to ſome parts I have already once, twice or oftner ſworne the juſt contrary, calling the ſame Almighty God the ſearcher of all hearts to witneſſe thereunto, and to be avenged on me if I made it not good? And how ſhall I pawne all the mercy which I hope for at that great and terrible day of the Lord to all the wrath and judgement that ſhall be revealed upon the truth of my intention of performing this Covenant? when either my heart already tells me, or may ſoone tell me, that I intend no ſuch thing, or to be ſure it will be told me in that day when the ſecrets of all hearts ſhall be diſcloſed that no ſuch thing ought to have been ſo much as intended, much leſſe ſworne by me?

Thus have you (moſt intimate of friends) both my judgement of this new Oath, and my earneſt requeſt for yours, ſeconded with your prayers. If you ſhould chance to have raſhly taken this oath your ſelfe, ere theſe *Quares* come to your hands, (as who in theſe tempting, turning times, can be confident of any mans conſtancy?) yet I hope, through Gods bleſſing upon them, they may ſo work upon you, as to cauſe you to reflect upon what you have done with ſorrow, and to reſolve againſt the doing what you have thereby inconſiderately promiſed, with ſpirit and courage; knowing that it is a reſolved caſe in point of conſcience, That in raſh and unlawfull Oathes, *Qui non mutat, dupliciter peccat, & quia injuſte juravit, & quia facit quid non debet:* He that alters not his reſolution, doubleth his ſinne, becauſe he both ſweareth unjuſtly, and then doeth that which hee ought not to do. And holy David did exceedingly bleſſe both God, the advice of a woman, and the woman her ſelfe that gave it, for keeping him off from performing a raſh and unjuſt Vow that he had made, 1. *Sam.* 25. You have ſeene my fidelity, let me ſee yours; and whatſoever anſwer you returne, direct it to my Brother of Chriſt Church, who is as I my ſelfe am,

Your faithfull friend and Brother
in the Lord Chriſt.



Mr. Wallers SPEECH IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

On TUESDAY the fourth of *July*, 1643.

Being brought to the Barre, and having leave given him by the SPEAKER, to say what hee could for himselfe, before they proceeded to expell him the HOVSE.

July 14. 1643. Imprimatur,
John White.

LONDON,
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Mr. VVALLERS SPEECH IN THE HOVSE of COMMONS

On Tuesday the 4th of *July*, 1643.

Mr. SPEAKER.

I Acknowledge it a great mercy of God, and a great favour from you, that I am once more suffered to behold this Honourable Assembly. I mean not to make use of it to say any thing in my own defence by Justification, or denyall of what I have done. I have already confessed enough to make me appeare, worthy not onely to be put out of this House, but out of the World too. All my humble request to you is that, if I seeme to you as unworthy to live, as I doe to my selfe, I may have the Honour to receive my death from your owne hands, and not bee exposed to a Tryall by the Counsell of Warre: what ever you shall thinke me worthy to suffer in a Parliamentary way, is not like to finde stop any where else.

This (Sir) I hope you will be pleased for your owne sakes to grant me, who am already so miserable, that nothing can be added to my calamity, but to be made the occasion of creating a President to your own disadvantage; besides the right

I may have to this, consider I beseech you that the eyes of the world are upon you, you governe in chiefe, and if you should expose your owne members to the punishment of others, it will be thought that you either want Power, or leisure to chastise them your selves; nor let any man despise the ill consequence of such a President as this will be, because hee seeth not presently the inconveniences which may ensue: you have many Armies on Foote, and it is uncertaine how long you may have occasion to use them. Souldiers and Commanders (though I know well they of the Parliaments Armie, excell no lesse in modesty then they doe in Courage) are generally of a Nature ready to pretend to the utmost power of this kind, which they conceive to be due to them, and may be too apt upon any occasion of discontent to make use of such a President as this. In this very Parliament you have not bin without some tast of the experience hereof; it is now somewhat more than two yeares since you had an Army in the North, paid and directed by your selves, and yet you may be pleased to remember they was a considerable number of Officers in that Army, which joined in a Petition or Remonstrance to this House, taking notice of what some of the Members had said, as they supposed to their disadvantage, and did little lesse then require them of you; 'tis true, there hath bin some tampering with them, but what has happened at one time may wisely be thought possible to fall out against another time.

Sir, I presume but to poine you out the danger; if it be not just, I know you will not doome me the wrong to expose me to this triall; if it be just your Army may another time require the same justice of you, in their owne behalfe, against some other Member, who perhaps you would be lesse willing to part with. Necessity has of late forced you into untrodden paths; and in such a case as this where you have no president of your own, you may not do amisse to look abroad upon others States and Senates, which exercises the Supreame Power, as you now doe here.

I dare confidently say you shall find none either Antient or Moderne, which ever exposed any of their owne order to be tryed

tryed for his life by the Officers of their Armies abroad, for what he did, while he resided among them in the Senate.

Among the Romans the practice was so contrary, that some inferiour Officers in their Army farre from the City, having been sentenced by their Generall or Commander in chief, as deserving death by their Discipline of Warre; have nevertheless (because they were Senators) appealed thither, and the cause has received a new hearing in the Senate. Not to use more words to perswade you to take heed that you wound not your selves thorough my sides in violating the Privileges belonging to your own persons, I shall humbly desire you to consider likewise the nature of my offence. (not but that I should be much ashamed to say any thing in diminution thereof; God knowes 'tis horrid enough for the evill it might have occasioned) but if you look near it, it may perhaps appear to be rather a Civill then a Martiall crime, and so to have Title to a Triall at the Common Law of the Land; there may justly be some difference put between me and others in this businesse.

I have had nothing to doe with the other Army, or any intention to begin the offer of violence to any body. It was only a civill pretence to that which I then foolishly conceived to be the right of the subject, I humbly refer it to your considerations, and to your consciences. I know you will take care not to shed the blood of Warre in Peace, that blood by the law of Warre which hath a right to be tryed by the Law of Peace. For so much as concernes my selfe and my part in this businesse, (If I were worthy to have any thing spoken or patiently heard in my behalfe) this might truly be said, that I made not this businesse, but found it, 'twas in other mens hands long before it was brought to me, and when it came I extended it not, but restrained it. For the Propositions of letting in part of the Kings Army, or offering violence to the Members of this House, I ever disallowed and utterly rejected them.

What it was that moved me to entertaine discourse of this businesse, so farre as I did, I will tell you ingeniously and that rather as a warning for others, than that it make any thing

for my ſelfe; it was onely impatience of the inconveniences of the preſent Warre, looking on things with a carnall eye, and not minding that which chiefly (if not onely) ought to have been conſidered, the inestimable value of the Cauſe you have in hand, the Cauſe of God and of Religion, and the neceſsities you are forced on for the maintenance of the ſame; as a juſt puniſhment for this neglect, it pleaſed God to deſert and ſuffer me with a fatall blindneſſe, to be led on, and ingaged in ſuch Counſells as were wholy diſproportioned to the reſt of my life; Theſe (Sir) my owne Conſcience tells me was the cauſe of my failing, and not malice, or any ill habit of minde, or diſpoſition toward the Common-wealth, or to the Parliament: for from whence ſhould I have it? If you looke on my Birth you will not finde it in my blood: I am of a Stock which hath borne you better fruite: if you looke on my education, it hath been almoſt from my child-hood in this Houſe, and among the beſt ſort of men; and for the whole practice of my life till this time, if an other were to ſpeake for me, he might reaſonably ſay, that neither my actions out of Parliament, nor my expreſsions in it, have ſavoured of diſtruſt, or malice to the Liberties of the People, or Priviledges of Parliament.

Thus Sir I have ſet before your eyes, both my perſon and my caſe, wherein I ſhall make no ſuch defence by denying, or extenuating any thing, I have done, as ordinary Delinquents doe, my addreſſe to you, and all my Plea ſhall onely be ſuch as Children uſe to their Parents, I have offended: I confeſſe it, I never did any thing like it before; it is a paſſage unſuitable to the whole courſe of my life beſide, and for the time to come. God that can bring light out of darkeneſſe, and hath made this buſineſſe in the event uſefull to you, ſo alſo hath he to me: you have by it made an happy diſcovery of your Enemies, and God of my ſelfe, and the evill principles I walke by; ſo that if you looke either on what I have been heretofore, or what I now am, and by Gods grace aſſiſting me, ſhall alwayes continue to bee, you may perhaps thinke me fit to bee an example of your compaſſion and clemency.

Sir,

Sir, I ſhall no ſooner leave you, but my life will depend on your breath, and not that alone, but the ſubſiſtence of ſome that are more innocent. I might therfore ſhew you my Children, whom the rigour of your Juſtice would make compleat Orphanes, being already Motherleſſe. I might ſhew you a Family, wherin there are ſome unworthy to have their ſhare in that marke of Infamy which now threaten us: But ſomthing there is, which if I could ſhew you, would move you more then all this, it is my Heart, which abhorres what I have done more, and is more ſevere to it ſelfe, then the ſevereſt Judge can be. A heart (Mr. Speaker) ſo awakened by this affliction, and ſo intirely devoted to the Cauſe you maintain, that I earneſtly deſire of God to incline you, ſo to diſpoſe of me, whether for life or for death, as may moſt conduce to the advancement therof.

Sir, not to trouble you any longer, if I dye, I ſhall dye praying for you; if I live, I ſhall live ſerving you, and render you backe the uſe and imployment of all thoſe dayes you ſhall adde to my life.'

After this having withdrawn himſelfe, he was called in againe, and (being by the Speaker required therto) gave them an exact account how he came firſt to the knowledge of this buſineſſe; as alſo what Lords were acquainted therwith, or had engaged themſelves therin.

FINIS.

Sir, I shall no sooner leave you, but my life will depend on your breath, and not that alone, but the infallence of some of his are more precious. I might [illegible] before you my Children, who in the rigour of your Justice would make compleat Orphans, being already [illegible]. I might shew you a Family, wherein there are some unworthy to have enter place in that murder of Innocency which now threatens: But tumbling there is which [illegible] I could shew you, would move you more than all this, into my Heart, which abhorres what I have done more, and is more fearless to suffer, then the severest Judge can be. A heart (Mr. Speaker) so awakened by this affliction, and so entirely devoted to the Cause your Majesty, that I earnestly desire of God to indulge you, to [illegible] of me whether for life or for death, as may most conduce to the advancement thereof.

Sir, not to trouble you any longer, if I dye, I shall dye praying for you; if I live, I shall live serving you and render you back thereto, and employment of all those days you shall add to my life.

After this having withdrawn himself, he was called in again, and (being by the Speaker required thereto) gave them an exact account how he came to the first to the knowledge of this Conspiracy, as also what Lords were acquainted therewith, or had engaged themselves therein.

12

A TRUE RELATION

Of the great and glorious

VICTORY

Through Gods providence,

Obtained by
Sir *William Waller*, Sir *Arthur Haſlerig*,
and others of the Parliament Forces:

Againſt the
Marqueſſe Hartford, Prince *Maurice*, Sir
Ralph Hopton, and others.

Together with the Names of what perſons of quality were Killed and Taken on both ſides:

As it was ſent to a worthy MEMBER of the Houſe of COMMONS, who appointed it to be Printed and Publiſhed.

IMPRIMATUR-
John White.

LONDON:
Printed for *Edward Husbands.* July 14. 1643.



A great and glorious Victory.

SEeing that by experience we find many are too lavish of their Pens, and in stead of verity, publish their own fancies, to the great prejudice of the Cause, we thought fit to commend to the world, this brief, but true relation of several occurrences between the two Armies in the Western parts.

The prevailing of Sir *Ralph Hoptons* forces in *Somersetshire*, as also the defeat which our forces received at *Wells*, is sufficiently published to the world already; therefore we need not to insist upon it; onely we must acquaint the Reader, that had not Cowardise or Treachery, if not both, betrayed those forces, *Mercurius Aulicus* could not have had that advantage to boast of their wonderfull successe against the Parliament forces. I purpose onely to give a brief Relation of the carriage of businesses, when once Sir *William Waller* had the opportunity to encounter with them. Upon the 12 of June, Sir *William* drawing his forces out of *Bathe* before he had marched 4 miles from the City, had intelligence of our forces quitting *Wells*, and our eyes soon were witnesses of their miserable condition: The truth is, they were utterly routed and scattered, lost all their carriages, but a party being sent out by Sir *William Waller*, soon recovered most of the carriages, and pursued the enemy within 3 miles of *Wells*, and there skirmished with them, did good execution upon them, took divers prisoners, and many horse, and so with honour retreated to *Bathe*, and not in a pelting chase (at this time Prince *Maurice* received 2 sore wounds, was beaten off his horse, and narrowly escaped from being taken Prisoner) as *Mercurius Aulicus* would bear the world in hand, but we must passe by his insolencies, seeing his pen is so accustomed to publish notorious untruths, that with the common lier, he is justly suspected even when he stumbles upon a trueth.

A full fortnight the enemy staid at *Wells*, before he durst venture upon an advance, in which time, though they molested not us, yet we often visited their Quarters, and took divers prisoners, and its worth observation, that when Propositions were made for exchanging prisoners, the list which they give in amounted but to 19 the best of them

being but a Corporall, whereas we had of theirs no leſſe then ſeventy perſons, among which were three Captains, two Enſignes, and one Quarter-Maſter; they being at length gotten unto *Froome*, and the parts adjacent, a party of ours conſiſting of 250 under the command of Major *Dowet* (a man who hath given ſufficient teſtimony of his fidelity, valour and wiſedome) were deſigned to fall upon the enemies quarters; but after they were gone out, we receiving better intelligence, how the enemy lay, An order was ſent after him, to divert his courſe, and fall upon their quarters in *Stoke*-Lane, his guides were ignorant of the way, ſo that they ſpent much time before they could finde the place, inſomuch, as it was clear day-light when they came thither; but it pleaſed God to ſend ſo thick a Miſt, that they fell upon their quarters undiſcovered, where Sir *James Hambleton* his Regiment of Horſe, the beſt the enemy could boaſt of, was quartered there: we fell in upon them, by which time the Miſt was diſperſed, and the enemy ſoon ſubdued, ſo that with the loſſe of one ſlain, and ſeven wounded on our ſide, we brought home a rich prize, The particulars whereof we here inſert. Lieutenant Colonell *Carre*, Major *Blunt*, Captain *Colt*, Captain *Welſh*, four Cornets, two Quarter-Maſters, five Corporalls, 97 Troopers, whereof ten were Gentlemen of quality; many of them were Papiſts, eſpecially the Officers; 140 horſe were brought in upon account, beſides many which the Souldiers had conveyed away; ſixty caſe of Piſtolls, with many Port-Mantles which our Souldiers made comfortable uſe off.

Three Cornets with their ſtaves were preſented by Major *Dowet* unto the Generall, and one more was burnt by a Granadoe which the Major himſelf threw in at a window of the houſe, where it did execution, this ſo provoked the enemy, that the next day they advanced towards us, which was Munday the 3 of July.

Information being given, that they were gathered into a body within two miles of *Fourd*-hill, there being two wayes, one leading to *Oxford*, the other to *Bathe*, it was thought fit to ſend a party to intercept their paſſage; whereupon the aforeſaid Major *Dowet* was commanded forth with three hundred horſe and foot, the night being dark, himſelf a ſtranger to the place, knew not what paſſages were to be made good, but only by conjecture: As the day approached, the enemy did follow, and he perceiving that he wanted men, ſent for relief; three Troops of Horſe, and three Companies of Foot were ſent unto him, in the mean time our Army was drawn out upon *Claverton* Down. The greateſt part of the enemies whole Body charging the Major, forced

forced him to call off his men in the beſt Order he could; which was ſo well performed, that he loſt onely 10 common Souldiers, and two Hammer-Pieces through the Gunners negligence; we took of them 13 Priſoners, whereof one was a Captain: Yet for all this the enemy boaſts (as is his manner) of a great defeat.

The enemy now having gained *Fourd-Bridge*, drew the next morning, being Tueſday, unto *Baner-Hill*, and we drew our Forces out of *Bathe* up to *Lanſdown*, faced the enemy divers hours, fired 5 Pieces of Ordnance upon them, which did ſome execution. The enemy perceiving they could not without diſadvantage fall upon us, conveyed away their Carriages, and ſo retreated towards *Marſhfield*, leaving a party to face us: we ſending out a party againſt them, they ſpeedily retreated, without ſtriking one blow, and left behinde them 300 weight of Bullet, which we highly prize, as a rich Mite, out of their penury. Our party chaſed them to *Marſhfield*, and that night gave them a ſound Alarm, and not one of them ſtirred, although they had bragged to be in *Bathe* that night; but they wiſely conſidered, that after ſo hot a chaſe, the water in *Bathe* would have been hot for them, which might have produced a fatall malignant Feavour. Our Army quartered that night upon the Down, and in the morning the enemy gathered in a great body upon *Friznall*-hill neer *Marſhfield*. We drew towards them and pitched upon another Hill, about a mile diſtant from them, a Woody Vale, lying between us, both ſtrove who ſhould fartheſt line the hedges with Muskettiers, but Captain *Butler* (under the command of *Sir Arthur Haſterigg*) quickly chaſed them from their Ambuſcadoe, and ſlew divers of them; our Generall Sir *William Waller* perceiving their Army to retreat, immediately commanded Major *Dowet* to take out a party of 200 horſe, and that ſeconded by 200 more, commanded by Colonell *Carre*, both parties advanced toward their Army, and charged them ſo gallantly, that they put all their Army to a diſorderly retreat, as that their horſe took the rear of their foot; but they taking hart again in a full body, with their great Artillery cauſed our party to retire yet orderly, which Sir *William* perceiving, ſent Colonell *Burghill* with a party to relieve them, and carryed all again, which put the enemy to ſecond retreat, but the fight was variouſly maintained for two hours, at length our foot growing weary, a freſh ſupply was ſent, who being but freſh Souldiers, did not make good their ground, which conſtrained our parties to retreat, after Colonell *Burghill* had received a ſhot through his right Arm, as his Sword was even at the throat of the Lord of *Carnarvan*. Our men fell back to

their first ground, to bring back the two Hammer Peeces which were taken from us at *Fourd*-bridge, the Munday before. The enemy (enraged by the wounds of their choice Commanders, from so small a party of ours) charged up to our ground, which ground after a hard dispute was yielded unto them, partly by force, partly volnntarily, upon good advice, that considering our horse in number exceeded theirs, as much as their foot did ours, we might have sufficient room to fight on.

Both Armies being on the Playn, charges grew so hot on both sides, as the like was never seen in *England*; yea, some old Souldiers did say, *That the furious fights in France were but a play in comparison of this.* Not one Regiment of ours but charged them Horse and Foot four or five severall times: especially Sir *Arthur Hasterig*, who charged most bravely, and was himself so far engaged, that had he not gallantly bestirred himself, and killed the man that encountred with him, he had been taken prisoner: In which Conflict he received a wound in the thigh at push of Pike, but blessed be God no danger in it, being the next day able to walk abroad. And the Generall Sir *William Waller* (although the chief care of ordering the Battell lay upon him) in his own person charged four times upon them.

Thus the Battell continued for the space of nine hours at the least, untill the enemies horse left their Foot naked; and night being come on, hindred us from compleating our Victory.

Our Horse being in continuall service for three dayes, and without meat or water for 24 hours, and our Foot much scattered, it was held fit by a Councell of War, That we should return to *Bathe* for refreshing our Horse and men, and rallying our Foot, well knowing we might easily recover the Hill, and so fall upon the enemy again to prosecute our Victory.

Our Retreat was so orderly performed, that the enemy durst not follow us, having now learnt by experience, that our giving ground hath been much to their disadvantage. The next morning, whilst we were preparing for a march, we were informed that the enemy was retreated to their old Quarters at *Marshfield*.

On our side we lost Major *Stawhan* a Scottish-man, Major of Dragoons; as also a Lievtenant to Captain *Fincher*; 2 Corners, the one belonged to Major *Dewet*, and the other to Captain *Drake*: For Souldiers, we finde but 12 dead upon the place; the enemy having buried and carryed away their own, we may be confident would not be so kind to conceal any of ours. We have about 60 wounded men; whereof 4 already are dead.

Thus

Thus you have a juſt and faithfull account of our proceedings hitherto, in all which we deſire to return the glory unto God, it being indeed his doings, and may well be marvellous in our eyes. And God teach us thus comfortably to conclude with the Prophet Iſai. 26. *The Lord will ordain peace for us, for he hath wrought all our works in us.*

For the loſſe the enemies had, we have this Information:

Men of quality ſlain, Sir *Bevil Greenfield*, Lieutenant-Col: *Ward*, Serjeant-Major *Lower*, Captain *Buſſet*, Captain *Iames*, Capt. *Corniſham*, and four more of the ſame rank. Sir *Ralph Hopton* received a wound thorow the arm; the L. *Carnarvon* was ſhot in the thigh; the L. *Moon* his foot ſhot off with a Canon Bullet: Of common Souldiers were ſlain above 200, and wounded ſome 300 more. This Information we have from their own party which are taken priſoners by us, and our men which eſcaped from them, being in number about 30, that came off by reaſon of a pannick fear ſeizing on the enemy, by an Alarm given of our falling again upon them that night; yea, ſo great was their fear, that the ſame night above 500 of their men ran from them, many of which were taken up by the Countrey people, and brought in to us.

On Thurſday morning their Magazine of Powder was blown up a dreadfull ſight to them that beheld it; 2 Captains were ſlain therewith, 20 more wounded; of which number was Prince *Maurice*, and Sr *Ralph Hopton*, as the Princes own Groom (who is a Priſoner with us) confeſſeth.

After Sir *William Waller* had Thurſday, and till Friday noon, *July* the 7 refreſht his Army in *Baſe*, he marched thence towards *Marſhfield* (the enemy marching thence that day to *Chipnam*) and that night encamped on a Down neer it; and early Saturday morn advanced towards *Chipnam* the enemies Quarter, and ſate down on a Playn about a mile and half from the Town. The Marqueſſe of *Hartford* with his Army ſhewed himſelf upon a Hill by *Chipnam*; ſome light Skirmiſhes betwixt the Horſe paſſed that day: The next morning, being the Lords Day, ſome priſoners by exchange came to us from the enemies Camp; one brought a Meſſage from the Marqueſſe to Sir *William Waller*, *That the Marqueſſe deſired there might be good quarter betwixt our Armies; and that we might fight no more in holes, but in the Campaine.* In Anſwer to this, Sir *William Waller* ſent a Trumpet with a Writing, to this purpoſe, *That he would meet his Lordſhip that afternoon about Sherſton in the Playn; and if his Lordſhip wanted Powder*, (as the priſoners we took affirmed he did) *he would lend him ſome for the Fight.* The Marqueſſe had no ſooner received this Meſſage, but with more

haſte

haſte then good ſpeed, he roſe from *Chipnam*, and marched towards the *Devizes*: But before his Reer was out of the Town, our Van came in, and 10 men there charged 60 Horſe of the enemies, took 8 priſoners, killed 2, and put the reſt to flight: Sir *William Waller* with his Army followed their Reer with as much haſte as poſſibly he could, over-took them about Sir *Edward Baynton's* Park, and from thence chaſed them all day from hedge to hedge, untill we had beaten them home to the *Devizes*: In which Chaſe great numbers both of Horſe and Foot of the enemies forſook them, and ſome came and laid down their Arms to us, with their Muskets charged, and Bandileers full of Powder: By which time it was dark, and command given for a Retreat to a large Moor two mile back, where we encamped that night: Munday morn very early, we marched up to the Downs which lead from the *Deviſes* to *Marlburrow*; aſſoon as our Van was come up, intelligence was brought to Sir *William Waller* by his Scouts, that 500 horſe were advanced from *Marleburrow*, within three miles, which appeared after to be the Earl of *Crafford*, with Waggons of Ammunition from *Oxford*; whereupon 300 horſe on ſeverall parties were ſent out to encounter them, but after ſome light skirmiſhing, and little hurt done, but that we took two or three priſoners of theirs, and one Maſter *Parſons* an Intelligencer, and they the like number of ours; our horſe having chaſed them five or ſix miles towards *Marleburrow*, returned, by which time the enemy from the *Deviſes* had drawn out his horſe on a Hill a mile from the Town towards *Marleburrow*, and his foot neerer to us, as if he would have fought, hoping as we conceive to have met the Earl of *Crafford* with four Waggon load of Ammunition from *Oxford*, but aſſoon as our Army marched down the Hill towards them, they all both horſe and foot retreated into the Town, when in the mean time Sir *William* encampes that night in that ground, which the enemy before poſſeſt very neer the Town, ſome light skirmiſhes paſt that night, what the iſſue is we yet know not, but ſome of the Lord *Craffords* Troops who convoyed the Ammunition that night from *Marleburrow* to the *Deviſes*, in an incloſed way at *Hungerford* by eight of the clock Tueſday morning, reported that Sir *William Waller* had taken my Lord *Crafford* with moſt of his Troops, and the Ammunition he convoyed: The like a Gentleman of my Lord *Wilmots* reported, who was come within five miles of the *Deviſes*, to the ayde of the Marqueſſe by five of the clock that morning, and hearing of the taking of the Ammunition, and of the Marqueſſe of *Hartfords* retreating privately from the *Vize* through his Park towards *Oxford*, was retired with his four Regiments, and come within a mile of *Hungerford* by eight of the clock.

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A REMONSTRANCE OF THE REMEDIES OF THE PRESENT DANGERS.

FROM THE

Commissioners of the KIRK in SCOTLAND, to the Convention of Estates, *July* 6. 1643.

TOGETHER,

With the ANSWER of the Convention of Estates, To the REMONSTRANCE and desires of the Commissioners of the Generall Assemblie.

July 15, 1643. Imprimatur JOHN WHITE.

LONDON

Printed by G. M. for *Edward Brewster*, at the Signe of the Bible at *Fleet-Bridge*. M. DC. XLIII.

TO THE HONOVRABLE CONVENTION OF ESTATES.

The humble REMONSTRANCE of the *Commissioners* of the generall Assembly, Concerning the Remedies of the present dangers of Religion, *July* 6. 1643.

ALthough it be more easie, especially in a time of many corruptions and great difficulties, to complaine of diseases and dangers, than to find out the right cure and remedies. Yet from our conscience of duty in the charge committed unto us at this time, from our confidence in God, whose providence hath discovered the dangers, and will in his owne time provide sufficient remedies, by the example of the generall Assemblies of this Kirke, and in obedience to your Lordships commands: We find a necessity laid on us, and are most willing according to our knowledge, to shew what we conceive to be the best remedies, leaving the further consideration of them to your Lordships wisdome.

Politicke and worldly men are indifferently disposed towards every Religion, and doe conceive that the knowledge of a few Principles joyned with the Profession of Religion, is sufficient for salvation, without descending into particular differences and controversies. But this cannot be a remedy; for we know that Heresies and Sects have bin of old and must still be, *that those who are approved may be made knowne.*

Reconcilers, who under the specious pretext of pacification betwixt Protestants and Papists, intend no other thing, but in a subtill and crafty way to reduce the Protestant Kirks into *Antichristian* servitude, and in the golden cup of the whoore of *Babell* to propine againe unto us all the abominations and filthinesse; these are also to be rejected and abhorred, as presenting us with deadly poison in stead of remedies.

A third thereis but an unsufficient remedy, we doe with all thankfulnesse and reverence, as becommeth good Subjects, receive the Kings Majesties

jeſties Declaration of his intentions, for maintaining our Religion, and eſteeme it no ſmall happineſſe to live under a Prince, Orthodox in the faith, and a nurſe father of the Kirke; But his Majeſties diſpoſition to Religion, can neither oblidge his Royall Succeſſours, as the frequent change of Religion in *England* and other Kingdomes, what the change of the Princes, hath taught us; nor can it preſerve us from the Plots and power of Papiſts, as we have even now learned by the conſpiracy of the *Iriſh*, *Engliſh*, and *Scottiſh Papiſts*: If they have bin deviſing miſchiefe againſt us in the very time of his Majeſties Declarations; what may be in all reaſon expected afterward from the immortall hatred and unceſſant working, and what may we looke for preſently, if while they are now in armes, their fury ſhall have ſucceſſe, and they ſuffered to prevaile, as they have done in *Ireland*: We pray *God ſave the King*: but we may ſay, *Curſed be their anger for it is fierce, and their wrath for it is cruell*.

The firſt true remedy, which Chriſtian piety and prudence miniſters unto us, is to receive the love of the truth, and to labour for the power of godlineſſe. It is never enough obſerved, that *Papiſtry*, *Arminianiſme* and diverſity of Sects, or the juſt judgement of God upon many in the Reformed Kirks for their formality in Religion: without this one remedy all other remedies will want the bleſſing of God, and prove unprofitable.

A ſecond remedy is to abhorre and deteſt Popery, not upon conceit or common opinion, but from the particular and diſtinct knowledge of the groſſe Hereſies, in doctrine, manifold Idolatry in worſhip and cruell tyranny in government, which it teacheth, defendeth and practiſeth: from which the Lord in a wonderfull mercy hath delivered us: againſt which ſo many thouſands of the holy and faithfull Martyrs of Chriſt have borne record of the word of God, and of the teſtimony of Jeſus Chriſt, and waſhed their robes in the blood of the Lambe, and by which the Lord ſuffereth us and other reformed Kirks, this day to be threatned againe, becauſe we have bin unthankfull for our deliverance, not knowing the greatneſſe of the ill from which we have bin delivered, nor conſidering the heavines of that *Antichriſtian* yoake, if it ſhall be again wreathed upon our necks: which would to God all Kings, Princes, Republikes, and people would take to heart.

The third is, that all true Patriots and profeſſours of the reformed Religion may learne to diſcerne and know the enemies of the Kirke, which will be found not to be Papiſts only, but malignants alſo, who under colour of the ſame profeſſion with us, oppoſe themſelves to the preſervation of religion here unto the reformation of Religion in *England*, no leſſe than Papiſts, who make bands contrary or prejudiciall to our Nationall Cove-

nant, who frame and preſent Petitions, croſſing the Petitions of the Commiſſioners of the generall Aſſembly, give information to the Kings Majeſty, contrary to the Information of the Kirk and Kingdome, doe oppoſe the publiſhing of the neceſſary Declarations of the Kirk, reade papers in the Aſſemblies of Gods people without warrant from the Kirk, and offer to Presbiters in all the Quarters of the Kingdome, papers contrary to the Declarations of the Commiſſioners of the Aſſembly, doe hold their meetings againſt the convention of eſtates, and if they could find Miniſters to joyne with them, would keep Eccleſiaſticall Aſſemblies againſt the Aſſemblies of the Kirk, which is the moſt factious, the moſt ſcandalous and the moſt dangerous way of diviſion and ſeparation that hath bin heard of in any Kirk or Kingdome. And therefore by eccleſiaſticall cenſures and civill puniſhments to be ſpeedily and powerfully ſuppreſt, as a moſt pernicious practice tending to the deſtruction both of religion and peace of this Kingdom, and directly oppoſite to the propagation of the Goſpell and Reformation of other Kirks, which God by his providence is bringing to paſſe, and is ardently deſired and conſtantly hoped for by all the godly.

The fourth is, if after all good meanes are uſed to reduce the enemies of Religion, whether Papiſts or Malignants to repentance and obedience, the Kirk be conſtrained by their obſtinacy to proceed to the ſentence of Excommunication, ſome ſolid courſe may be taken that the civil puniſhment, which is according to Law, may be really and timouſly inflicted, that neither the law be eluded, nor any Delinquent for his greatnes or any other reſpect be exempted or ſpared.

The fift is, becauſe through want of ſure and timous intelligence, a great part of the people are either left to uncertaine rumours, or ſleighted by the negligence of common-bearers, or abuſed with malignant informations, that they neither know their owne danger, nor the danger of Religion and Country. A ſolid order would be ſet downe, thereby intelligence may goe forth from order to every ſhiere, and ſo to every Presbitery and particular paſtor that the people may be informed both of their danger and duty. And an account taken of the faithfullneſſe of men to their matters of ſo neceſſary and publike concernment ſhall be committed, and of particular Miniſters, how they acquaint themſelves in matters of ſo great truſt.

The ſixt is, That for the more ſpeciall applying of ſome clauſes of our Nationall Covenant againſt the preſent evils, certaine Articles may be framed to be ſubſcribed and conſented unto by all the wel-affected, that we may be more ſtrongly united amongſt our ſelves in the cauſe of God, and yet all Malignants and ſecret enemies, who hide themſelves under the ſubſcription of the Covenant may be diſcerned and diſcovered.

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The 7th is, That a Remonstrance may be sent to the Kings Majesty from the Honourable Convention of Estates, expressing the present dangers of the Kirk and Kingdome with a renewed supplication for unity in Religion and uniformity of Kirk government, for disbanding of all Popish forces, and for using of means for the Queens conversion.

The 8th is, Although wee be very well assured of the wisdome and good affection of this Honourable Convention, for which as a meane of great happinesse to this Kirk and Kingdom at this time, we heartily blesse the Lord: yet from the necessity of our duty which enforceth us to exhort civill powers to all vigilancy and faithfullnesse, and according to the laudable example of the generall Assemblies of this Kirk in former times of publike danger; we must crave leave to intreat and excite your Lordships, speedily to thinke and resolve upon the best wayes for the safety and security of the Kingdome against insurrection of Papists and Malignants from within and invasion from without, which may also be a meane to try and discover the minds of the disaffected. And to commit so great trust to none, but to such as are knowne to be zealous of the safety of Religion, of the Kings honour and peace of the Kingdome.

The 9th is, Because the hearts of people are secure and slow in apprehending of danger, and the enemies suggest, that there is not any great cause of feare: Whensoever any letters of negotiation and traffique betwixt Papists or Malignants here, and in other places are intercepted, or any plots or conspiracies discovered, the same without respect to any persons whatsoever, may be published in print and sent through the Kingdom, that all may be warned of the danger, and be in readinesse to use the best meanes for their safety, and that such wicked instruments may be censured and punished.

The 10th is, That for the credit of the Gospell, for keeping the publike faith of the Kingdome, and for promoving the desired and intended unity in Religion and uniformity in Kirk government. All the Articles of the Treaty of Peace betwixt the two Kingdomes be inviolably observed, and justice done without partiality upon the contraveners. And for as much as at the time of the Reformation, and in our late Declarations and Remonstrances in the time of our troubles and since, the expressions of our desires of unity and amity with the Kingdome of *England* have been many and large. And we have many times from our feeling and feares made open profession, That the not reforming of the endangering of Religion there, hath an influence upon our Religion, and the mutuall peace of the Kingdomes; We do humbly intreat, according to the example of the generall Assemblies of this Kirk, that this Honourable Convention may be

pleas'd to take into their graveſt conſideration, the renewing of the league and aſſociation with *England* for defence of Religion, againſt the common enemy, and how farre the ſame may be extended againſt Prelacy and Popiſh Ceremonies, for uniformity in externall worſhip and Church governement.

Thus have we pointed at the principall remedies, which we humbly preſent to be more particularly reſolved upon by this Honourable Convention, as a matter worthy of the graveſt deliberation, and the greateſt care and diligence, wherein as we ſhall be requited, we ſhall moſt willingly according to our place and calling, contribute our counſells and endeavours; beſeeching God who never forſaketh his people, when trouble drawes neere; firſt, to direct, and next to fulfill all your Counſells to his owne glory and the publike good.

THE ANSWER OF THE CONVENTION OF ESTATES, To the Remonſtrance and deſires of the Commiſſioners of the Generall Aſſembly.

THE Convention of the ESTATES of the KINGDOME, having more particularly peruſed the Remonſtrance and deſires of the Commiſſioners of the *Generall Aſſembly*, doe acknowledg and with great care and ſolidity of heart, reſent the dangers of the reformed Religion: partly from the Rebellious attempts of Papiſts in *Ireland*, from their power in *England*, where they are ſo long in Armes: and partly from their hopes in this Kingdome, where they have their Plots and correſpondence amongſt themſelves and with their confederates abroad. And all theſe the greater and the more to be taken to heart at this time, that they have the pretence of the Kings ſervice and authority, the confidence of the Queenes zeale to their Profeſſion, and her power to promote their deſignes; And the aſſiſtance of the Prelaticall party, and of Malignants and many others, whom upon naturall and worldly reſpects, they have drawne againſt the Oath of the Covenant into their ſecret, and have united into their combination.

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Theſe and the like dangers expreſſed more fully in the Remonſtrance, may be more then ſufficient to awake and ſtirre up this Kirk and Kingdome to provide for the preſervation of Religion, the ſafety of the King, and ſecurity of the Kingdome, which at this time in reality can no more be ſeperated and divorced, then in former times when it was profeſſed both by King and people, that the dangers of one were the dangers of all, that they had the ſame Common friends and Enemies, and did ſtand and fall together: But while the Eſtates are thinking upon that which is remonſtranted unto them, many other dangers and diſtreſſes, which more directly and immediately threaten and preſſe this Countrey and Kingdom, offer themſelvs to be conſidered and are neceſſary to be univerſally known, That all men, even ſuch as all this time have never taken Religion to heart, may be made ſenſible of the preſent danger of their native Countrey, wherein the private danger of every mans life, liberty, Eſtate and meanes is included.

The Lords of privie Counſell, and the Commiſſioners for conſerving the peace, have already declared that a treacherous and damnable plot of the *Iriſh*, *Engliſh* and *Scottiſh* Papiſts, was begun to be diſcovered by Letters found with the Earle of *Antrim*, and by the depoſition of one of his ſervants at his death: Now the depoſitions of the Earle himſelfe, and of another of his ſervants both upon their oathes, have beene read in face of the Convention, confirming what was written before, of ſending Ammunition to the North, and levying of forces in this Kingdom, and hearing that the Earle had Inſtructions for making peace betwixt the *Engliſh* and *Iriſh* in *Ireland*. Like as divers Letters are ſent hither concerning a Ceſſation of Armes in *Ireland*, and the joyning of the *Engliſh* and *Iriſh* forces upon oath to goe for *England* to aſſiſt the King as is pretended, but indeed to ſtrengthen and aide the Papiſts and Prelaticall party.

Our Merchants and Mariners are not only ſtopped and diſcouraged in their trade, by Ships, Frigots and Flie-boates of *Dunkirk* and of *Ireland*, having *Iriſh* Commanders and Souldiers, but their Ships either taken or burnt, they ſpoiled of their goods and moneyes, and their perſons torter'd, kept captives, or ſent away quite naked, wherby his Majeſties ſubjects have ſuffered more by Sea upon the ſudden, and in a ſhort time, then they did ſuffer all the time of our late troubles. And no other cauſe of all this violence and cruelty pretended, but a Commiſſion and Warrant from Authority.

The Earle of *New-Caſtles* Forces, Horſe and Foote in great Numbers lying at the borders, and ready when they ſhall be commanded, to make incurſion upon the South parts of the Kingdome, as many ill affected are no

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leſſe willing to make trouble in the North.

If the unhappy differences betweene his Majeſty and his Parliament ſhall not be determined in a Parliamentarie way, but by the ſword; Not only, ſhall the Armie in *Ireland* be in danger to be loſt, but the whole Kingdome will be involved in the common calamity.

Nor is it wiſedome againſt the continuall rumours and threatnings of forraine invaſion, to be ſo negligent and ſecure, as if there were no appearance or poſſibility of danger from without. Experience hath proved the contrary in former times; And although there were no other ground, Reaſon doth teach, that Princes and States uſe to obſerve the opportunities of diviſion and breaches amongſt their Neighbours.

Although the cauſes of calling a convention at this time were urgent enough, yet the providence of God watching over this Kirk & Kingdom for good, hath diſcovered divers of the dangers of Religion and of the Kingdome, and brought them to light in this opportunity, while the Convention of Eſtates are ſitting, as if they had beene called together to be informed of them and to provide remedies againſt them. And therefore as the Convention is reſolved to take this matter which is of ſo publick and deep concernement into their ſerious conſiderations; So doe they deſire and require, that the Commiſſioners of the Aſſembly, who according to their duty, and the laudable example of the Aſſemblies of this Kirk in former times, have repreſented the dangers of Religion, will alſo with diligence, think upon the beſt and moſt powerfull remedies and remonſtrate them unto the Convention; That by the bleſſing of God upon their joynt endeavours, ſo many approaching and imminent miſeries may be turned away, and the Religion and peace which God Almighty of his ſingular mercy, hath granted to this Kirk and Kingdome, may be preſerved and tranſmitted unto the after generations, which ſhall be honour to God, ſafety to the King and his Poſterity, and happineſſe to his people.

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A DECLARATION AND SVMMONS

Sent by the Earl of *Newcastle*, to the Town of *Manchester*, to lay down their Arms.

With the Resolute

ANSWER

of the Commanders in chief, and Souldiers in MANCHESTER,

To spend their blood for the honour of the King, the Protestant Religion, and Priviledges of Parliament, against the Papists and Malignants now under his Lordships command.

Imprimatur, *John White.*

London, Printed for *Peter Cole*, and are to be sold at the Glove in *Cornhill*. July 15. 1643.



A Declaration and Summons ſent by the Earl of *Newcaſtle*, to the Town of *Mancheſter* to lay downe their Armes, &c.

I Preſume you are not ignorant of the ſucceſſe it hath pleaſed Almighty God to give unto His Majeſties Army under my Command, and the great deſire I have to avoyd the effuſion of Chriſtian bloud, which moves me before I proceed any further towards you, to make you an offer of His Majeſties Grace and Mercy, if you will ſubmit your ſelves,

lay downe your Armes, ſo unjuſtly taken up in contempt of the Lawes of this Kingdome, and immediately returne to your due Allegiance, His Majeſty is gratiouſly pleaſed to authorize me, to receive you into His Favour and Protection, which I am as willing to do, as to inforce your obedience; if you will refuſe I cannot but wonder, while you fight againſt the King and His Authority, you ſhould ſo boldly offer to Profeſſe your ſelves for King and Parliament, and moſt ignominiouſly ſcandalize this Army with the Title of Papiſts, when we venture our Lives and Fortunes for the true Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſhed in this Kingdome: Be no longer deceived, for the bloud that ſhall be ſhed in this quarrell will aſſuredly fall on your own heads; I have no other ends in this, but to let you

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see your error, if you please; for my condition is such, that I need not Court you; If not, let me receive your answers by this Messenger, and you may expect to find little favour, (if you force my nature) but such as is due to so high Contemners of His Majesties Grace and Favour, now offered to you by

W: NEWCASTLE.

Bradford. 5. July. 1643.

Manche-

Manchesters Answer.

(Right Honorable;

IT hath been ever since the first fomenting of the unhappy differences in this Kingdom, and so, shall be our principall care and endeavour to preserve the true Protestant Religion by Law established in this Realm, the Honour of the King in all Regall Rights, and Prerogatives, and Priviledges of Parliament, and the true and Native Liberties, and Priviledges of the Subject by Law established; And then it is not to be wondred at, that having been oppress'd by Papists, and other Malignants, we have by defensive Arms, laboured

boured to repell ſuch as by colour of His Majeſties Commiſsion, have endeavoured to overthrow Religion, His Majeſties Regall Rights, and Honour, with all the immunities of this Kingdom, in the preſervation whereof, His Majeſties noble Progenitors have ſo long and honourably flouriſhed; By which we hope it is apparent to all indifferent, judicious, and religious people, that we have not put our ſelves out of His Majeſties protection, nor cannot poſsibly enter into our underſtanding, that the true Proteſtant Religion cannot be intended to be defended by ſo great a company of Papiſts, as have been, and now are in Arms under ſuch protection; Nor the Propriety of the Subject, by ſo many Aliens, and other Malefactors as daily reſort unto them;

And

And we could wiſh ſo honorable a perſon as your ſelf might be ſeperated, and freed from protecting ſuch Delinquents.

Sir, we are nothing diſmayed at your force, but hope that God, who hath been our protector hitherto, will ſo direct our juſt Army, that we ſhall be able to return the violence intended, into their boſomes that ſhall aſſay the proſecution of it, which ſhall be the endeavour of

His Majeſties moſt Humble and Obedient Subjects.

Rochdale, 7. July, 1643.

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Ireland Parliament

AN ORDINANCE OR DECLARATION OF THE LORDS and COMMONS Assembled in Parliament,

For the encouragement of Adventurers to make new subscriptions for Townes, Cities, and Lands in *Ireland*.

Having taken into their serious consideration the sad condition of that Realm, and of what ill consequence the losse of that Kingdome would be to this both in respect of Religion and otherwise.

Die Veneris. 14 Julii. 1643.

Ordered by the Lords and Commons Assembled in Parliament, that this Ordinance or Declaration shall be forthwith printed and published.

I Brown Cler. Parliamentorum.

LONDON,
Printed for *John Wright* in the Old-baily,
July. 15. 1643.

An Ordinance or Declaration of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament.



The Lords and Commons in Parliament having taken into their serious Consideration the sad condition of the Realm of Ireland, and of what ill consequence the losse of that Kingdome would be to this, both in respect of Religion and otherwise; have lately by their Declaration of the sixteene of June one thousand six hundred fourty three, in particulars set forth and declared unto the world the extreame wants and necessities thereof; And finding many well-affected persons both Adventurers for Lands in Ireland, and others, very ready and willing to apply themselves by all good meanes for to bring that great good worke unto perfection. And forasmuch as the subscriptions upon the severall acts of Parliament heretofore made this Session doe not ingage a third part of the Land designed to be applied to that worke by those Acts, and the times in them limited for under-writing being elapsed, and to make up what was wanting in the former subscriptions, as for to raise considerable summes of money for maintenance of the Armies there on foote, and relefe of

the poore distressed Protestants there, the reducing of those Rebels to their obedience and setting of the state of that Government in peace againe, Have now Ordained and declared, That whatsoever person and persons, Corporations, and Bodyes Politique, which at any time or times heretofore have subscribed, and payd in any summe or summes of money, for an Adventure of Lands of the said rebels Lands in Ireland forfeited and to be forfeited, and confiscate, according to all and every, or any the Act and Acts of Parliament as aforesaid, therefore made and enacted upon the late Ordinance of Parliament of the thirtieth of January, one thousand six hundred forty two, made for new Iganes and contributions, for the relefe of Ireland, And that shall now againe subscribe and pay in to Mr. James Bunce, Mr. Thomas Foote, Mr. John Kendricke, of London Aldermen, and to Samuel Avery Esquire, Treasurers appointed for that service, or their Assignes, so much money as shall amount unto a full fourth part of such summe and summes of money, as they or any of them have formerly subscribed and paid in upon any the said former Acts and Ordinance, in manner and forme following, viz. One third part thereof within ten dayes next after they shall so subscribe, the said fourth part one other third part within one moneth then next ensuing, and the other third part thereof within two moneths then next and immediately following, so as the whole adventure is to be payd in within three moneths: And the said summe or summes of money now to be thus underwritten and paid in to the Treasurers aforesaid, as aforesaid, being added to and reckoned up together with the said summe and summes of money which they have so formerly underwritten and paid in upon the said Acts

and

and Ordinance or upon both or either of them shall have a double proportion of Lands for the whole, twice so much Land as he or they were formerly to have had, by and according to the said Acts or Ordinance, and Irish measure, viz. every Acre thereof to consist of eight score Pearches or Poles, and every Pearch or Pole to consist of one and twenty foote; And under the same rents and services, conditions, limitations and provisions, and in as large and beneficiall manner and forme, to all intents and purposes whatsoever, as in and by the said Acts of Parliament and Ordinance aforesaid is limitted and expressed; And the Acquittance and Acquittances under the hands of the said treasurers, or any two of them, shall be sufficient and effectuall to enable the said subscribers, and every of them, their heires or assignes, to demand, have, and enjoy, the full fruit and benefit of their said subscriptions, and shall be a good and sufficient discharge for the receipt of all and every such other payments, summe and summes of money, as shall be made and brought in by and upon any other Propositions, wayes, or meanes, for the reliefe or maintenance of the said Army.

And if any such person or persons, Corporations, or bodies politique, who have thus formerly adventured, for Lands in Ireland, and shall undergoe, and pay in any more or other summe or summes of money then the fourth part of his former adventure shall amount unto; or if any other person or persons as well of the English, Scottish, or Dutch Nation, under the government of the Lords and States of the united Provinces, that shall now de novo subscribe and pay in any summe or summes of money, for Lands, of the Rebels Lands, forfeited and to be forfeited as aforesaid, shall have a like

double proportion of Lands for the same, to be assigned and set out unto him and them in manner and forme in all things, as the Adventurers aforesaid, in the immediate foregoing Proposition are to have theirs.

And the said Lords and Commons, for the further content and satisfaction of the said Adventurers, have also ordained and declared, and doe hereby ordaine and declare, That an Act and Acts of Parliament shall hereafter passe both in England and Ireland, to make all the Lands and Tenements of the said Rebels forfeited and to be forfeited, as aforesaid, or wherein they or their Ancestors, by themselves, their Tenants, and Assignes, have been in the actuall seisin and possession, as the very Freeholders and Inheritors, or reputed Freeholders and Inheritors thereof, for the space of fifty yeers before this Rebellion brake out there, being upon the three and twentieth of October, one thousand six hundred fourty one, alike liable to the Subscriptions and Plantations of the said Adventurers in every of the four Provinces, of Leinster, Munster, Ulster, and Connaught respectively without exception, and to bar His Majestie, His Heirs and Successors, from all Right, Title, Claim, and Demand whatsoever, of and into the same, any Pardon or Pardons granted or to be granted to the said Rebels, or any of them, either before or after Conviction or Attainder in any manner or sort whatsoever to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

And to give incouragement unto those who are Merchants and live on Trades, for to adventure considerable sums of Money for Houses and Lands of the Rebels forfeited and to be forfeited there; and for to introduce a better Trade and Manufacture of the native Commodities of that Kingdome, when by the blessing of

God,

of God, that war ſhall come to be ended, and for the better propagation of Religion, and abolishing of Popery and Superſtition out of that Land, and civilizing of that Kingdom, the ſaid Lords and Commons have ſet out the City and Corporation of Limerick, with the Iſland of Kinſhcattery, and the Fiſhings of the River there, and twelve thouſand Acres of confiſcated and profitable lands, medow and paſture, lying next contiguous and adjacent to the ſaid City round about, lying and being in the Province of Munſter, with Woods, Bogs and barren mountains caſt in to bee hereafter granted and conveyed to ſuch Perſon and Perſons as aforeſaid, their Heirs and Aſſignes, as ſhall now adventure and diſburſe money for the ſame at the rate and valuation hereafter mentioned, viz. That ſhall diſburſe the ſum of thirty thouſand pounds currant money of England for the ſame, and paying the ſum of ſix hundred and twenty five pounds yeerly rent to the Crown: And have ordained and ſet out the City and Corporation of Waterford, lying and being in the ſaid Province of Munſter, with fifteene thouſand Acres of like forfeited and profitable lands, medow and paſture, Bogs, Woods, and barren mountains to be likewiſe caſt in, and lying contiguous and adjacent to the ſaid City, to be hereafter granted and conveyed to ſuch perſon and perſons as aforeſaid, their Heirs and Aſſigns, as ſhall now adventure and diſburſe the ſum of thirty thouſand pounds, and pay the like yeerely rent of ſixe hundred and twenty five pounds unto the Crown for the ſame. And have ordained and ſet out the Towne and Corporation of Galloway, lying and being in the Province of Connaught, with ten thouſand Acres of

like

the forfeited profitable land, meadow and pasture, with woods, Bogs, and barren mountains, to be cast in and to lie contiguous and adjacent to the said Towne and Corporation, to be in like manner granted and conveyed to such person and persons as aforesaid, their Heires and Assigns, as shall now adventure & disburse the sum of twenty five thousand pounds for the same, & pay the yeerely rent of five hundred and twenty pounds to the Crown for the same. And have ordained and set out the Town and Corporation of Wexford, lying and being in the Province of Leinster, with six thousand Acres of the escheated profitable lands, meadow and pasture, with woods, bogs, and barren mountains, to be cast in and to lie adjacent and contiguous to the said Towne and Corporation, and to be likewise granted to such person and persons as aforesaid, their Heirs and Assignes, as shall now adventure and disburse the summe of seven thousand five hundred pounds for the same, and pay the yeerly rent and fee-farme of one hundred fifty five pounds foure shillings and foure pence to the Crowne for the same, and all and every the same respectively to be holden of his Majestie in free and common Soccage, as of his Castle of Dublyn in the said Realm, and and every of them to be incorporated again de novo, and to have such Liberties, Freedomes, and Immunities granted unto them, and every of them respectively, as are now granted to the City of Bristol in this Realm by any Charter and Charters whatsoever, and such other Privileges and Immunities as be contained and inserted to the said Adventurers for Lands in Ireland, in the Acts of Parliament aforesaid, for Subscriptions for Lands in that Realm.

And

And it is further Ordained and Declared by Authority aforesaid, That in case the respective sums whereat the said Cities, Townes, Lands, and premises last mentioned aforesaid, are respectively valued and apprized, shall not be wholly under-written for, yet then and in such case all and every such under-writer and under-writers, as shall subscribe any sum or sums of money, for to have any part or parcell thereof, shall have granted and conveied unto him, his heires, and Assignes, such and so much in proportion thereof, as his and their Adventure and Adventures shall severally and respectively amount unto, according to the said respective valuations to be set out unto him and them, by indifferent Commissioners by the Lords and Commons, to be therefore hereafter named & appoynted.

And the said Lords and Commons doe further Ordaine & Declare, for a more cleere and full Plantation of the said Cities, Townes, and Corporations, That all Chantry Lands, & Lands, and Tenements, given unto superstitious uses, for maintenance of Popish Priests, and Idolatrous Masses, Dirigies, and the like; And all Lands and Tenements given for maintenance of Lazors, and Lazarous people, and concealed in possession and Occupation of such who are now or hereafter shall be Rebels, & have beene by their Ancestors enjoyed by many descents, and which shall not become forfeited by this Rebellion, shall be cast into the Purchase and Purchases of the said Cities and Townes respectively as parcell thereof, & shall by Act & Acts of Parliament hereafter to passe in England & Ireland, be made as subject & lyable to the said Plantation. And for satisfying of the said Adventurers their subscriptions as any other the said Rebells Lands forfeited and to be forfeited and Confiscate therein whatsoever. And all the Adventurers Estates in whatsoever their Ad-

the forfeited profitable land, medow and pasture, with woods, Bogs, and barren mountains, to be cast in and to lie contiguous and adjacent to the said Towne and Corporation, to be in like manner granted and conveyed to such person and persons as aforesaid, their Heires and Assigns, as shall now adventure & disburse the sum of twenty five thousand pounds for the same, & pay the yeerely rent of five hundred and twenty pounds to the Crown for the same. And have ordained and set out the Town and Corporation of Wexford, lying and being in the Province of Leinster, with six thousand Acres of like escheated profitable lands, medow and pasture, with woods, bogs, and barren mountains, to be cast in and to lie adjacent and contiguous to the said Towne and Corporation, and to be likewise granted to such person and persons as aforesaid, their Heirs and Assignes, as shall now adventure and disburse the summe of seven thousand five hundred pounds for the same, and pay the yeerly rent and fee-farme of one hundred fifty five pounds foure shillings and foure pence to the Crowne for the same, and all and every the same respectively to be holden of his Majestie in free and common Soccage, as of his Castle of Dublyn in the said Realm, and and every of them to be incorporated again de novo, and to have such Liberties, Freedomes, and Immunities granted unto them, and every of them respectively, as are now granted to the City of Bristol in this Realm by any Charter and Charters whatsoever, and such other Privileges and Immunities as be contained and intended to the said Adventurers for Lands in Ireland, in the Acts of Parliament aforesaid, for subscriptions for Lands in that Realm.

And

And it is further Ordained and Declared by Authority aforesaid, That in case the respective sums whereat the said Cities, Townes, Lands, and premises last mentioned aforesaid, are respectively valued and apprized, shall not be wholly under-written for, yet then and in such case all and every such under-writer and under-writers, as shall subscribe any sum or sums of money, for to have any part or parcell thereof, shall have granted and conveied unto him, his heires, and Assignes, such and so much in proportion thereof, as his and their Adventure and Adventures shall severally and respectively amount unto, according to the said respective valuations to be set out unto him and them, by indifferent Commissioners by the Lords and Commons, to be therefore hereafter named & appoynted.

And the said Lords and Commons doe further Ordaine & Declare, for a more cleere and full Plantation of the said Cities, Townes, and Corporations, That all Chantry Lands, & Lands, and Tenements, given unto superstitious uses, for maintenance of Popish Priests, and Idolatrous Masses, Direntalls, Diriges, and the like; And all Lands and Tenements given for maintenance of Lazors, and Lazarous people, and concealed in possession and Occupation of such who are now or hereafter shall be Rebels, & have beene by their Ancestors enjoyed by many descents, and which shall not become forfeited by this Rebellion, shall be cast into the Purchase and Purchases of the said Cities and Townes respectively as parcell thereof, & shall by Act & Acts of Parliament hereafter to passe in England & Ireland, be made as subject & lyable to the said Plantation: And for satisfying of the said Adventurers, their subscriptions as any other the said Rebells Lands forfeited and to be forfeited and Confiscate therein whatsoever, And all the Adventurers Estates in whatsoever their Ad-

ventures for Lands & Tenements herein formerly mentioned, shalbe in like manner hereafter secured unto them & confirmed by Act and Acts of Parliament, to passe both in England and Ireland, for the same end and purpose as aforesaid.

And it is further Ordained and Declared, by authority aforesaid, That all and every such person & persons as aforesaid, who have or shall under-write any sum or sums of money upon the said Propositions for any the Cities, Townes and Corporations aforesaid and have formerly adventured & subscribed, or shall underwrite and subscribe for Lands in the Kingdome at large, shalbe accommodated to have all his said Lands, set out unto him as neere unto those Cities, Townes and Corporations aforesaid, for which he shall so subscribe, as may be provided alwayes, that no person or persons shalbe admitted to subscribe upon, or for any of the said Cities, Townes and Corporations, for a smaller sum then Twenty Pounds.

And it is further Ordained and Declared by Authority aforesaid, that all and every Officers and Commanders, in all or any the Brittish Armies in Ireland, that shall and doe continue in the said Service, and within six moneths next after the day of the date of this Ordinance, shall subscribe all or any part of such sum and sums of mony, as now is, or shall grow due and owing unto him and them, or any of them, for his and their pay and entertainment, the same subscriptions to be either taken and received, here in such way as is formerly directed for other Adventurers, or by and before the severall Committee and Committees to be hereafter chosen & imployed by the House of Commons, and this Committee into the severall Provinces of that Kingdome, for the better managing of that War, the same subscriptions to be taken & Recorded, by them the said Com-

Committees respectively in their respective Provinces into which they shall be sent and imployed, to be afterwards returned by both Houses of Parliament, shall have and injoy such proportion & proportions of Lands or of Cities, Townes & Corporations, for the sum and sums of money to be subscribed, and in manner and forme in all things as other the Adventurers herein aforesaid, are for to have theirs granted and set out unto them by and according to the limitation of this present Ordinance.

And the said Lords and Commons doe further Ordaine and Declare, that it shall and may be lawfull, to, and for the said Adventurers, and every of them, now at the time of their subscribing for Lands againe as aforesaid, or within one moneth afterwards, to make his and their respective choice and Election, in which of the foure Provinces aforesaid, he or they desire to have, his and their Adventure and Adventures of Lands to lye, And the said Treasurers receiving the same, declared under his & their hand & hands, in writing in a Book as a Record thereof for that purpose to be kept, shall have the same set out unto him and them, his and their heires and Assignes, in such Province accordingly if it may be: Provided that such choice and setting forth as aforesaid do not prejudice the first Adventures, whose lots shall fall in any of those Provinces.

And it is further Ordained and Declared by Authority aforesaid, that all and every such Monies, Wares, Goods, Commodities, Armes, or Ammunition, which either now are, or which at any time hereafter shall be, either lent or given by the English or Dutch Protestant Churches, and Classes in Holland, Zealand, and other parts and places beyond the Seas, to whom this busines and affaire for the Reliefe of Ireland hath beene already or shall hereafter be recommended, shall be brought into the Treasury afore-

said, or otherwise be ordered and disposed of by the said Committee for the service aforesaid, in manner and sort as other the monie by them to be received, is herein declared and appointed to be imployed.

And it is further Ordained and Declared by Authoritie aforesaid, that the Committee of the House of Commons and Adventurers in London aforesaid, or any eight or more of them, shall and may by such Agents and Ministers as they shall therefore intrust and imploy, to Communicate this Affaire into whatsoever other parts & places of this Kingdome, as they shall think fit for taking subscriptions & receiving of money according to the severall propositions aforesaid & according to all and every such other propositions as for the service aforesaid, shal hereafter by both Houses of Parliament, be made and Ordained; and that the said Committee, or any eight or more of them shal & may reward with fit rewards & salaries, all such as they shal & do thus imploy, for the better proceeding in & carrying on the said worke, & to make, doe & perform, whatsoever other matters & things shall conduce and be necessary for the better proceeding of the businesse as they the said Committee or any eight or more of them shall from time to time order & appoynt being alwayes ready to give an accompt of their proceedings to both Houses of Parliament, when they shall be thereunto required.

FINIS.

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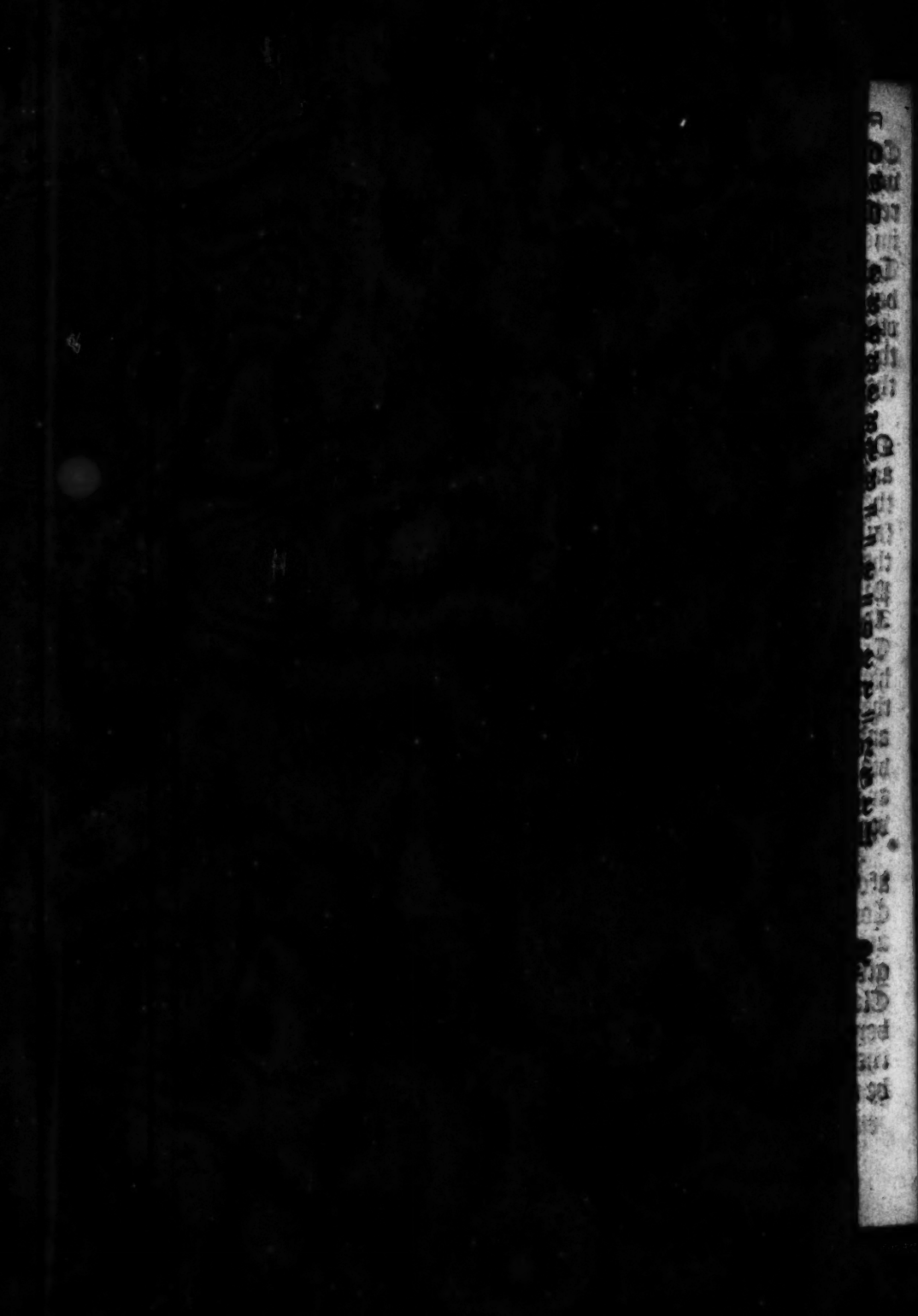
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EXTRACT

OF

SEVERALL LETTERS

LATELY RECEIVED,

Which were perused by the Committee for *Irish*-affaires at Grocers Hall, and by them thought fit to be published.

RELATING

The most remarkable Passages of the *English* and *Scotch* Armie in the Province of *Vlster* in the Kingdome of *Ireland*, which have happened of late betwixt them and the Rebels there.

Published by Order of that Committe,

Robert Goodwin.

July 4 LONDON,
Printed by *George Miller* dwelling in Black-Friers, M. DC. XLIII.

A true Extract of the ſeverall Letters, &c.

IF 2 Sparrows that are ſold for a farthing, fall not to the ground without a Commiſſion ſealed by the divine Providence, certainly the State of Kingdomes, and ſucceſſe of Armies, muſt intitle their changeable condition unto the ſame. The Kingdome of *Ireland* hath been the ſcene on which the unparaleld Tragedie of the Chriſtan maſſacre hath beene acted, yet the Almighties Mercy, though it hath beene overſhadowed by his Juſtice for a time, hath ever broke forth with comfortable rayes, when our gaſping bretheren there laboured in their heavieſt extremities. In this conſideration, he that is poore may contribtue liberally to the welfare of that Kingdom, in praiſing the God of Hoſts who hath made his arme bare for the defence of his people, and praying unto him for the continuance of his favour upon them; Every expreſſe from *Ireland* incouragerh to this duty, which may be further atteſted in ſome particular occurrences which have lately beene repreſented by faithfull hands from the Province of *Vlſter*, as followeth.

In a Letter bearing date 18. *June*, 1643. from a man of knowne credit, It is affirmed, That whereas the Fort of *Montjoy* being a place of ſingular importance, as commanding all the benefit of *Lough Neagh*, and in the very bowels of the Enemy, which there hath lyen all this laſt

Winter

Winter 600. of the *Scotch* Army, and 100. of Sir *Iohn Clotworthies* Regiment, being closely beleagred by the Rebels, Serjant Major *Ellis* with 350. of Sir *Iohn Clotworthies* Regiment, brought over the Lough in his Boates, joyned with a like number of Serjant Major Generall *Monros*, attempted sodainely to raise the seige, the Alarum being given into the *Irish* Campe, the execution was not very great, but that those Woods which were so great annoyance unto us are fully cleared, and the Rebell hath never since attempted any thing on that side the Countrey, though his two only holds, *viz. Charlemount* and *Dungannon*, are within one 5. the other 7. miles of it. In this service, Captaine *Oconelly* (who discovered the Traiterous attempt to surprize the Castle of *Dublin*) was shot in the arme, no other person of note kild or hurt, the Enemy lost about 150. men.

Within 3. dayes after, Intelligence being given that the Rebels were strong in *Clancon* woods being a place of great fastnesse; the *Scotch*, and 350. of Sir *Iohn Clotworthies* Regiment, with some others of his Regiment that Garison'd in *Montjoy*, divided into loose Wings, ranged the Woods, where the service was very warme, but with unexpected successe to our men, who killed of the Enemy very many common Souldiers, *Owen ô Neales* Captaine Lieutenant of his Life-guard, and severall persons of quality more, besides some prisoners taken, this party brought to *Montjoy* about 400. Cowes, we lost not above 6. men in all.

The 3. Islands in *Logh begge* are taken in by Sir *Iohn Clotworthies* Boates, fortified and garison'd by his men, the rest of the *Bann* to *Colrane* is secured by the *Scots*; so that now by often incursions out of the County of *Antrim* into the County of *London Derry*, the Rebels have

quitted that Country, and removed themselves to those other parts, where they may be free frō their daily inroads.

About the 1. of *June*, it was resolved to March 350. commanded men out of every *English* Regiment, about *Belfast*, my L. *Connoways* 350. my L. Viscount *Ardes* 350. my L. Viscount *Clonebayes* 350. Col *Chicheſter* 350. Sir *Iames Monternerge* 350. Sir *John Clotworthies* 350. to this 2100. Foot, 200. Horſe, moſt of Collonells *Hylls* Regiment were joyned. Letters were ſent to my L. *Moore*, acquainting him with the deſigned march, whom they defired to joyne with them; the Rendezvous was to be at *Mountnorris*, 8. miles wide of the *Newry*. My L. *Moore* marcht out of *Lemſter* to the Rendezvous with 200. Foot, 100. Horſe, and ſome Dragoons; from hence they marcht to *Monaghan*, from *Monaghan* to *Clunis*, from *Clunis* to *Belturbet*, within a few miles of the Province of *Conowght*, ſpoiling and waſting any thing that might be advantagious to the Rebels. What was for the Armies uſe we brought from thence, ſo that we returned home with 3500. leane Cowes and Oxen, 2000. Sheepe, and neere 1000. baggage Horſes; and finding no Enemy to face us, we were more confident to divide our ſelves into ſmall parties, ſo that of ſtraggling Rogues we kil'd ſome hundreds, the Horſe got moſt plunder, and the Foot ſome; they like better going abroad then famiſhing in their quarters; had we not bin forced for want of bread and ſhoos to return home, certainly we ſhould have put the Rebels to graſing this ſommer. They fled before us and are moſt of them gone into, and on the borders of *Conowght*. At the ſame time Generall Major *Monro* was abroad, he marcht to *Ardmagh*, and returned by *Toom*, the Enemy being fled from thoſe parts, he hapned not on much prey; at the paſſe of *Benburge*, the enemy labour'd to hold it up againſt his

Horſe

Horſe, but as ſoone as the body of Foot appeared the Enemy fled, many of them were killed by the Horſe; thoſe that lagged in the reare, were cut off by the Foot; the weakneſſe the *Iriſh* are reduced unto, make them unable to improve their heeles ſo uſefully as formerly. A little before this, Generall Major *Monro* was before a place called *New Caſtill*, there moſt fortunately he ſurprized the Earle of *Antrim*, who as he himſelfe confeſſeth was comming to make peace. His brother *Alexander* came a fortnight before to the Rebels, and had ſent a guard to convey the Earle to *Charlemont*. Many Letters were found with him, ſome in Cyphers; the Generall Major hath them, and the Earle is in ſafe cuſtody. This is a ſpeciall peece of ſervice.

The Kingdome of *Scotland* have ſent over unto their Army (which was in extremity of want hardly to be credited) of victuals 10000. bowes of Oaten meale, and ſome other proviſion, moſt of which were landed before the writing hereof, who wil by this ſupply, be provided & inabled to perform what hitherto they could not poſſibly attempt. They are now going forth with a very conſiderable ſtrength, and we of the *Engliſh* Regiments are reſolved (God willing) to keepe the Field at the ſame time.

Theſe fore-going particulars, are confirmed by ſeverall Letters of the 13. and 18. of *June*; The ſucceſſe of the Regiment about *London Derry* under the command of Sir *William Stewart*, Sir *Robert Stewart*, and Collonell *Mervyn*, with the 12. gariſond Companies of *Derry* is thus certified by ſeverall Letters from Sir *William Stewart*, Sir *Robert Stewart*, Capt. *Berisford*, Lieut. *Hartwell* and others. Lievt. *Hartwells* Letter.

About the beginning of *May*, Sir *Robert Stewarts* Regiment, and Coll. *Mervyns* joyned together: Sir *Willam Stewarts* Regiment and the gariſon of *Derry*, they marched Sr. *Tho. Staples* Letter.

ched together. Sir *William Stewart* tooke his way in the lower part of *Donnegall* County, he kild above a 100. ſtraggling Rogues, brought away 1000. Cowes, marcht by Caſtle *Doe*, where the Rebels played upon him with 2. Field pieces out of the Caſtle, and beſtowed Musket ſhot freely; he could doe no good on it, becauſe he had no accoutrements ſutable for that deſigne, and his men wanted bread, he returned home but with loſſe of one Souldier under Captaine *Hartwell*.

Sir *Tho: Staples* & Lieuten. *Hartwells* Letter.

Sir *Robert Stewarts* and Colonell *Mervyns* regiment, march'd up towards *Baylagh*, brought home 1300. Cows, ſome ſtore of Sheepe, and killed many ſtragling rogues.

Sir *Tho: Staples* his letter.

The Companies of *Derry* with Cap. *Dudly Philips* troope of horſe march'd up within 5. mile of *Bonganon*, brought home 700. Cowes, the enemy followed them in the reare about 8. mile. The Rebels loſt 150. men, and we but three.

Divers letters.

In our ſecond march, Sir *Wil. Stewart*, Sir *Rob: Stewart* and Col: *Mervyns* regiment joyned altogether with three Troopes of horſe, and march'd thorough *Tyrone* into the County of *Managhan*: The enemy having a weeks notice, gathered all their ſtrength, being commanded by *Owen mac. Art mac. Baron, ô Neale*, that came out of *Spaine* their Generall; they marched three dayes together upon our left-hand, we offered them battell in all convenient places, they retreated, onely skirmiſhing with us upon the paſſages, and now and then attempting our reare; we killed many of them, of note onely *Donell Gavila ô Cahan* ſonne to *Donell ô Cane*, who died priſoner in the Tower, their Lieutenant-Generall, an experienced Souldier, whoſe loſſe is grievouſly reſented amongſt them. He came with a Troope of well-arm'd horſe to diſcover our ſtrength and forme of marching, againſt whom *James Galbrath*

Galbrath Cap. to Sir *Wil: Belfores* Troope was commanded out by Sir *wil.* and Sir *Rob. Stewart*, who put him and his horſe to the retreat, and with his owne hand ſlew him. We got about 1000. Cowes, and comming to an Iſland where the great *mac Kanagh* had ſecured all his pillage, we tooke it in, and brought his wife and ſome others of note, priſoners to *Derry*: We had ſtaid longer, but that our Souldiers feet were in the woods ſpoild with thornes and ſtubbs for want of Shooes: And certainely if we can get victuals, ammunition, and a little mony, we ſhall put an end to this worke by Gods helpe very ſpedily.

Henry Gore Serjant major to Col. *Mervyn*, commanded a part of his regiment forth, in his march he killed nigh 300. men, brought home 1760. Cowes, whereof 1600. are milch, foure or 500. horſes and mares, beſides Sheep and Goates and other plunder; he tooke a Popiſh Biſhop priſoner. *Ca. Bereſfords letter*

Collonell *Mervyns* regiment, commanded by his Lieutent Col. *Rob: Galbraith*, is now out upon another deſigne, Sir *Wil:* and Sir *Rob: Stewart*, and the *Derry* men are preparing for a march, I beleeve they onely expect Colonel *Mervyns* regiment to returne. *Ca Bereſfords letter*

It is the conſtant report of all priſoners we take, that the Rebels in *Vlſter* intend to deſert that Province and to fly to *Connaght*, for they are ſo continually diſquieted with parlies in all places, and reduced to that famine, that they never ſleepe 2 nights in one place, and the poorer ſort feed upon the carcaſſes of the ſlaine.

It is a great diſcouragement to us here, that as faſt as we take victuals from the Rebels by land, they robbe us by Sea for want of ſome ſhip to be upon this coaſt, one ſhip with victuals comming into *Logh-larne*, they made prize of, and chaced another ſtanding in for *Carick-fergus*, which

if

if God had not delivered, certainly we had perished, for with that little quantity of bread corne, we were enabled to most of our marches.

In these severall expresses the condition of *Ulster* is truly characteris'd, which in continent is equall to the 3[d] part of the Kingdome: The Lord hath used those Vipers, but as a rod to scourge his children, and now he gives us evident grounds to hope he will burne it. In no History Gods protection, and the vindication of his owne cause hath bin more visible, w[ch] certainly wil take that impression upon all wel-affected minds to help that people, to whom God hath bin, is, and we pray ever will be, a Cloud by day and a pillar of Fire by night. This only rests as a Caution, since the Officers and Souldiers by their resolution and industry, having wasted for the most part a Province of such strong fastnages, and lived upon the prey, if they be not constantly supplyed from *England* with victuals, have in all these dangers fought against themselves, as for the reward of their service, to perish by inevitable famine, there being nothing left for their subsistence, and in all probability if the Armies now in *Ireland* be put into a posture to keepe the field this Summer (by Gods assistance) to destroy their harvest, the cold aire, and famine will take up the latter part of the quarrell, and dispute it in the winter with those that shall escape the justice of our Swords.

FINIS.

This is entered according to Order. July 17.

Sir Ra'ph Hopton is scorched.
A Plot strangely discovered.
The Cornish Army is routed.
Women ravished and murdered.

17

Numb. 26.

CERTAINE

INFORMATIONS

From severall parts of the Kingdome, and from other places beyond the Seas, for the better satisfaction of all such who desire to be truly Informed of every weekes Passage.

From the 10. of *July*, to the 17. of *July*. 1643.

Monday, Julie 10.

THe Imperious and Austere deportment of the Cavalier-party, together with their exactions and oppressions in those Counties of this Kingdome, which they have over-awed, and subjugated, is at length become so grievous and odious, even to such of their friends, who have sided and complied with them, that they now generally indeavour to shake off the Ægyptian yoke of bondage, being induced thereunto by their owne visible and sensible experience; for whereas they hoped for liberty and exemption for their compliance, their persons are tyrannically constrained (contrary to the knowne Lawes of the land) to serve them in their Wars, their substance and food both for man and beast, is by them ravenously devoured and exhausted, their manufactors of cloth, butter, cheese, and other commodities, whereby they acquire sustenance for themselves and families, and moneys to pay their rents, is by them feloniously and violently taken from the Carriers, and those poore men are also robbed of their horses, wains, waggons, and oxen. Besides, these people now manifestly perceive, that the Cavalier-party are the sole obstacles to peace, in refusing to condescend to the least requests made by the Parliament, for the obtaining thereof, and that they now mainly endeavour to subvert the true Protestant Religion, and to introduce Popery and Tyranny.

All which intollerable pressures, the inhabitants of the County of *Worcester* having maturely considered of, and finding the government, exactions, levies

 and

and demeanour of Sir *William Russell* most cruell and unreasonable, they have sent a Petition to the King, subscribed by a thousand hands, wherein they beseech him to displace and remove the said Sir *William*, from the command he hath in that Shire, and to substitute in his roome, Colonell *Sandys*, a moderate Gentleman, and well affected to the true Protestant Religion, for they know, that though Sir *William Russell* go to Church, yet his affection is stifly inclined to the Romish Errours and Heresies, and therefore they account him the more dangerous, for as dissembling friends are the worst enemies, so simulated Religion, is the greatest opposite and underminer of it; *Simulata sanctitas duplex iniquitas*. But the Cavaliers intentions & endeavours being wholly to alter Religion, if they prevaile, as by their speeches and actions from time to time be made apparant, that County can have little hope to obtaine Colonell *Sandys* for their Governour, so long as he professeth the maintenance of the true Protestant Religion, because it contradicteth the Cavaliers Principles.

The like hatred and detestation hath the Lord *Capell* acquired in Shropshire, for when he was desired by the inhabitants of that County, to remove the Papists out of *Shrewsbury*, he answered, that it might not be, because they were the Kings friends, and his exactions and oppressions are so rigorous and extreame in that Shire, that he is abhorred there, *Cave prior & Augur*, for he presseth the Welch-men for his service, and hindereth them from their Manufactories of Cottons and Frizes, and exerciseth an absolute tyrannicall government in those parts: He went lately to *Osmestre*, with a thousand Horse and Dragoneers to fortifie that Towne, and told the inhabitants that it must be intrenched, and strengthened, because he heard that some Rebells were comming from *London* into that County, meaning thereby, the Earle of *Denbigh*, Sir *Thomas Middleton*, Colonell *Mitton*, and other lovers of their Religion and Countrey, who are consigned by his Excellencie the Parliaments Lord Generall, with Men, Armes, Ammunition and Ordnance, to go downe thither, and to free all the Marches of Wales, from their great Oppressours, and Protectours of Papists, who are Rebells and Traitours by the Laws of the land: but now observe his Lordships kindnesse, and curtesie to that Towne, where in stead of procuring their love and compliance, he hath gotten their perpetuall hatred, for he put all his horses into their medows, which hath eaten and spoiled all their grasse, and thereby he hath bereft them of all sustenance for their cattell the next Winter, so silly are the Cavalier-party in committing such acts, as make themselves odious wheresoever they come, whereby it is apparant, that as God hath hitherto confounded most of their

their endeavours and actions, so he now confoundeth their wits and policies, by permitting them to run into such things as make them vile and despicable in the sight of all men, according to the Text, *I will destroy the wisedome of the wise, and will bring to nothing the understanding of the prudent.* These his enormities and outrages, will (by Gods good providence) procure the aforesaid Honourable and Worthy Personages the more friends and adherents, when they shall arrive in those parts, for their better strengthening and powerfull support, to expell all their Popish enemies from thence, and reducing those Countreys to the obedience of the King and Parliament.

On *Saturday* last in the afternoone, the Councell of War sat againe in the Guild hall of *London*, where *White*, one of the late *London* Conspirators, was re-examined and tried, and after he had spoken what he could for himselfe, he was sentenced to be hanged by the neck till he were dead. Then *Hampden* should have been tryed, but upon Affidavit made, that he was dangerously sick, and could not be brought without imminent perill of his life, and after the summoning of one *Fry*, another Conspirator, who was lately escaped out of the Provost-Marshalls custody, the Court was adjourned untill *Wednesday* next.

From *Kingston* upon *Hull* they write, that the Lord *Fairfax* was well there the last week, that he came thither for the money and ammunition, which had been detained from him by Sir *John Hotham*, and that while he was there, foure Troopes of Horse came to him, which had layen closly scattered thereabouts in the East-Riding, and were so over-awed by Sir *John Hotham*, that they durst not shew themselves for him, nor advance to his aid, and that in his way thither from *Leeds*, he had taken a Troop of Horse of the Newcastellians about *Selby*.

Tuesday, July 11.

The Honourable House of Commons hath lately Ordered, That all such persons as have payed any money, or compounded for Wardships at *Oxford*, since the Order of Parliament, shall notwithstanding pay a composition here againe, for their contempt and breach of the said Order; and they have also Ordered, That whatsoever person shall henceforward pay any money, or compound for any Wardships out of the Court of Wards here, shall have their estates sequestred, and employed for the use of the Commonwealth.

From *Leicester* they write, That on *Wednesday* night last, the Queene and all her Traine lay at *Ashby de la zouch* in the Westerne borders of that County, and that her Army was come from *Newark* upon *Trent* thither without any

any interruption: but withall it is reported here, That all the inhabitants in Warwickshire, from the age of sixteene to sixty, are up in Armes, and have encamped themselves on *Dunsmore*-Heath, to stop their march that way to *Oxford*, yet she having the Westerly parts open, may go from *Ashby* to *Lichfield*, from thence to *Dudley* Castle, and so to *Worcester*, from whence, without any obstacle, she may go to *Oxford*, unlesse Sir *William Waller* prove a block in her way.

On *Saturday* last the news came out of Somerset-shire, that Sir *William Waller* had encountered the Hoptonians, and slaine a thousand of them, as it was then reported, that he had taken thirty of their commanders; amongst whom Sir *James Thynne* of *Longleat* in the County of Wilts was one, that the Earle of *Carnarvan* had his leg broken, and shattered with a shot, and that Sir *Arthur Haslerig* was slightly wounded in the thigh with a pike, whereof he also had by a Letter advertised his Lady here, and that Sir *William Waller* had lost a hundred of his men in the combat, together with Captaine *Strong* a Scottish Commander of his Dragoneers, and that he still pursued the Cornish Army. Since which news, by divers Letters from *Bristoll*, and relations from *Salisbury*, it is informed, that Sir *William* hath againe fought with the Hoptonians, about *Tog-hill*, betweene *Bath* and *Marsfield*, where were slain the Earle of *Malborow*, Sir *Bevill Grenvile*, Master *Basset*, and ten more of their Commanders, that Sir *Ralph Hopton* was so scorched with the firing of eight barrels of his owne Gunpowder, that his eyes are burut out, and his head is therewith swollen as big as two or three heads, whereby also, two of his Captaines were slaine, and many of his souldiers, and that Sir *William Waller* had gotten some Peeces of his Ordnance, that many Cornish-men are fled back again into their owne Countrey, some few of them are posted away to *Oxford*, and others of them dispersed about in those parts, for the safety of their lives, and all this was done by Sir *William Waller*, onely with the losse of fourty or fifty of his men.

From *Plimouth* they write, That they have raised there, and at *Dartmouth*, an Army of about two thousand men, to relieve besieged *Exeter*, who in their way thither, set upon Sir *Thomas Heal's* house, called *Fleet*, neare *Modbery*, which they took, with many Cavaliers in it, and then drove away the Cavaliers from *Totnes*, and that they are marched from thence towards *Exeter*, hoping to meet with another Army from *Barnstable*, and the Northerne parts of Devon, to joyne with them in that expedition.

On *Friday* last the King was at *Oxford*, as it is informed, that his Army hath left *Buckingham*, upon the Lord Generalls approach thither, that some

of

of the Cavaliers are gone to *Stony Stratford*, and that the Lord Generall is about *Brickehill* with his Army, and that the two Armies onely faced one another about *Buckingham*, and performed no ſervice of any conſequence, unleſſe ſome ſmall Skirmiſh between their Forlorne hopes, whereof on both ſides about fifteen men were ſlaine.

Wedneſday, July 12.

From *Norwich* they write, that there hath lately been ſome Conſpirators diſcovered and apprehended, whoſe deſigne was to have fired the City in two places, whereof the one was Sir *John Hobarts* houſe, and the other was the Countrey priſon, and when all was in combuſtion, then about an 100. horſe from Saint *Faiths* and thoſe parts, joyning themſelves with other forces raiſed about *Cunsford* and other parts of the City, ſhould have ſeized upon the Ordnance, and drawne them up to the Caſtle hill, to have commanded the whole City and Countrey, for which Conſpiracy ſome are committed tothe Gaole. It was through Gods mercy ſtrangely diſcovered; thus, one *Allen* of Saint *Faiths* (who was put upon the Plot by one Maſter *Balden* a great Papiſt in the City) being a prime Conſpirator, and ſhortly intended to have put this blood-fiery Plot in execution, wanting ſome aſſiſtance to put it in action, diſcovered his intention to a diſ-affected Miniſter thereabouts, deſiring his adviſe and aid therein, who being exceedingly moleſted in his Conſcience at the hearing thereof, could by no means pacifie and quiet it, untill he had diſcloſed the Plot to Sir *John Hobart*, and ſo the Conſpirators were apprehended, examined and committed, and ſhall be ſhortly tried, by a Martiall Commiſſion from the Parliaments Lord Generall, as the *London* Conſpirators have been.

His Excellency the Parliaments Lord Generall hath ſent a letter to them, importing that the King was far ſtronger in horſe then he, whereby he was diſabled to follow and purſue them, or to performe ſuch ſervice as he deſired for the ſafety of the Counties, and to keep them from Saccage and ruine, and he alſo adviſed them to Petition the King for Peace, and to proſecute the Treaty for an Accommodation, &c. Both which points, the Houſes having taken into ſerious conſideration and debate, have Voted and reſolved, (the Lords beginning firſt) that the King having in his late Proclamation nullified them, and made them uncapable to Treat with him, that there can no Treaty nor Accomodation again be propounded by them, which Votes they have ſent to his Excellency, intreating him to goe on, and not to let any good occaſion or opportunity ſlip, and that they will ſend him five hundred horſe by *Sunday* next, and two hundred more every moneth to recreut his Army if he ſtand in need of them.

From *Cambridge* they write, that their Towne and Castle are now very strongly fortified, being encompassed with Brest-works and Bulwarks. That this last Commencement Doctor *Barber* was denied his grace, who is an able, honest and Orthodox Divine, whereof complaint being made to the Parliaments Committee there, the refusers answered, that they could say nothing, but they heard that he was a Parliamentiers, and a Brownist, and though they could prove nothing against him, yet they would stop him, so much is that Universitie of late tainted and corrupted.

Thursday, July 13.

From *Manchester* in *Lancashire* it is informed, that since their men returned out of *Yorkshire*, the Earle of *Newcastle*, upon the Lord *Fairfax* quitting of the West riding hath written a haughty and imperious letter unto them, commanding them to lay downe their Armes, and to surrender them up to him, and then he will take them into his Protection, and intercede to the King for a Pardon for them: Whereunto they have answered, that their Countrey is now quiet, and needeth no protection, and that they have taken up Armes for the defence of the King and Parliament, and are resolved to live and die for them. And it is further informed, that they have placed a Garrison of twelve hundred men in *Rachdale*, and eight hundred men more upon *Blackstone* edge to guard the passage into their Countrey out of *Yorkshire*, and that they have sent away Colonell *Goring* and their other prisoners, but whither it was not knowne, yet it is supposed to *Liverpole*, to be conveyed from thence by Sea to *London*; but it is now said, that they are brought to *Nottingham*.

From *Dorchester* they write, that Sir *Walter Erle* hath besieged *Corfe* Castle a fortnight, and hath spent much powder by shooting against it both day and night, whereupon they hope, that within a few dayes it will be yeilded up, if not, that they intend to storme and force it. That the Earle of *Warwick* is now at *Weymouth* with his Squadron of Ships, to go from thence to relieve *Exester*, and that Sir *Walter Erle* hath sent him two hundred Musketiers to doe him land service.

That there hath been of late much Skirmishing about *Exester*, and many of their besiegers slaine, and that the Citizens and souldiers there, keepe those theaves and robbers in continuall Alarms, which hath tired them out, and made many of them to run quite away and leave their Siege.

Out of *France* the Newes is, that the Siege at *Thionville* is still continued by the French Army, with all eagernes and industry. That a Peace is to be Treated on at *Munster* in *Westphalia*, on the 28. of this instant *July*, between the Emperour of *Germany*, the Kings of *France* and *Spaine*, the *Swedes*, and the

the *Hollanders*, whither all these severall Nations are sending of their Agents and Ambassadours.

From Sea the Newes is, that about 70. Saile of Turkish Pyrats are lately come out of *Algier* and *Tunis* in *Barbery*, whereof about fourty are come towards the coasts of *England* and *France*, and ply up and down on those Seas for booty, with some of whom the *Dunkirke* Frigots have met and fought, whereof they have sunke one, and taken two or three of them, and have brought them into *Dunkerke*.

Friday, July 14.

At a Conference of both the Houses yesterday in the afternoone, the Honourable Commons presented the Noble Peers with instructions which they had drawne up for their Committee that are to be sent speedily into *Scotland*, who are named to be the Earle of *Rutland*, the Lord *Grey* of *Warke*, Sir *William Armyn*, Sir *Henry Vane* the younger, Master *Hatcher* and Master *Darley*, and they have appointed also two Ministers of the Assembly to goe along with them, *viz.* Master *Stephen Marshall* and Master *Philip Nye*.

It is now affirmed for certain, that Sir *William Waller* hath taken and slain some of the Earle of *Cranfords* Regiment of five or six hundred horse, together with all the money, and Ammunition which they brought with him to relieve Sir *Ralph Hopton*, and that the rest of them escaped to *Oxford*, whose tydings of their taking, abated the edge of the Cavaliers joyfull thanksgiving there, for their ridiculous Victory in the West-country. And it is also affirmed, that Sir *William Waller* hath taken the out-works of the *Devises*, a Town in *Wiltshire*, whither Sir *Ralph Hopton* was retreated for refuge with 1500. men, and that before he had taken 1200. of his souldiers, whom he disarmed, and making them take an Oath never to bear armes againe against the Parliament, he released them all, and hath sent them home again into *Cornwall*, who upon their way thither, were heard to say, that they would firmely keep their Oathes.

His Excellency the Parliaments Lord Generall, hath sent them a Letter, wherein he giveth them thanks for the care they have of him, and for the moneys which they have lately sent him, promising to do his best endeavours, to do them and the Kingdom the best service he can. And it is supposed, that he is this day advanced from *Brickhill* towards *Oxford*.

Prince *Rupert* with 3000. horse and 1000. foote, hath made an inroad into the Counties of *Northampton* and *Leicester*; where he hath taken about a thousand horse, and he hath burnt a village in *Leicestershire*, and so is returned againe to *Oxford*, where as the report goeth, there dyeth every day

day about eighty or a hundred men, of a diſeaſe called the Calenture, which is a high Feaver accompanied with a Frenſie, and many dead bodies have been carried down the river, for want of holy ſepulchres, to be buried in other places, and one of the Biſhops at *Oxford*, hath ſince conſecrated a parcell of ground thereabouts for an interring place for them.

Saturday, July 15.

From *Gaunt* in Flanders they write, That their Spaniſh Army is in ſome action, though to no purpoſe, for they march from place to place onely to keep themſelves afoot, and that lately a great part of their Horſe, with ſome foot, went to S. *Omars*, but what to do they yet know not; the reſidue of them lay ſtill about *Gaunt*, waiting upon the Prince of *Orange*, who lieth ſtill by them with his Army, and hath done nothing but made his quarters ſtrong. As for Thionville, it is there in generall yeelded for a loſt Towne, becauſe the Spaniard can by no meanes relieve it, or raiſe the French ſiege from before it.

Captaine *Hall*, Commander of the great ſhip called the *Antelope*, is lately come from our North coaſts, into the river of *Thames*, and hath brought along with him, Sir *John Hotham*, and his ſon the Captaine, together with Sir *Edward Rhodes* their fellow-Conſpirator, who was taken with Sir *John* at *Beverley*, and he hath alſo brought with him ſome notorious Papiſts, which he took in Northumberland, and the Holy Iland, as Colonell *Haggerſton*, and others, where he found the people well-affected to the King and Parliament, but they are over-awed by two or three ſmall Regiments of horſe and foot, whereof one was ſo cowardly, that they durſt not encounter foureſcore of his Sea-men, that would have fought with them.

From *Edinburgh* in Scotland they write, That their Grand-Aſſembly, hath expected our Parliaments Committee, ever ſince they firſt began to ſit, & if they do not come ſhortly, they muſt diſſolve it. That they have queſtioned the ſix Scottiſh Lords, that went thither from *Oxford*, for their actions againſt our Parliament and Kingdome, who promiſe to give the Houſes ſatisfaction, when their Committee ſhall arrive there. That two Lords are fled out of Scotland, for being Banders, and raiſing combuſtions amongſt them, whoſe eſtates are ſeized on, and converted to the maintenance of the Scottiſh Army in Ireland. That the ſaid Aſſembly have received Letters from *Oxford*, which blameth them for conveening without the Kings aſſent, complaining of our Parliaments proceedings againſt the King, as the Letters terme it, blemiſhing them (without juſt cauſe) with the loſſe of Ireland, and detaining the moneys from the Scots, which is due to them by their pact and agreement, inhibiting the Scots any wayes to aid or aſſiſt our Parliament.

Out of Yorkſhire it is informed, that the Popiſh Army there, ſince their obtaining of *Bradforth* and *Leeds*, have committed moſt crying outrages, in raviſhing of women, and afterwards killing of them, which the next week we ſhall more largely relate.

This is Licenſed and Enterd in the Hall booke according to order.

Printed by *G. Biſhop*, and *R. White*.

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MERCVRIVS AVLICVS,

Communicating the Intelligence and affaires of the Court, to the reſt of the KINGDOME.

The ſeven and twentieth VVeeke.

BRITISH MUSEUM

SVNDAY. *July* 2.

LAſt Weeke we told you how heartily *Buckingham-ſhire* came in to Prince *Rupert*, & ſubmitted themſelves to the King, the Prince having ſo diſturbed the Rebels Army at *Tame*, that His Excellency is now glad to incline toward *Bedford-ſhire*, where that he may have better entertainment, horrible Sir *Samuel Luke* ſent his Deputies notice, but to what end, you may ſee by this intercepted Warrant, directed

To the Conſtables and Inhabitants of *Salford*.

THeſe are to ſignifie unto you, that it is Sir Samuel Lukes *deſire that it be publiſhed in your Pariſh with all ſpeed, that he will no longer dally with, or by any more faire wayes or meanes claw his Country-men, ſeeing it is almoſt altogether vaine and fruitleſſe, but he is reſolved that if all perſons in every Pariſh betwixt 16. and 60. being able to carry Armes, ſhall not ſeverally appeare at* Laighton *on Monday morning next by ſeven of the*

clock withall provisions with them, and Armes and Weapons for the service of the State and their owne safety, he will proceed against such cold and insensible persons and Parishes of this County with that rigour and severitie as is done in other places, that the good may not remaine alwayes scoft and derided at, but that they may receive such ease and comfort by such his proceedings as is agreable to all manner of equitie and good conscience; and to let them know, that all such as doe come are to march away presently, and therefore desire them to come provided for that purpose: fayle you not hereof, and to bring a list of the names of every man, at your perils.

THOMAS POTTS.

Todington, July 1. 1643.

It was advertised this day, that on the death of Mr *Hampden*, whom the *Lower House* had joyned as a *Coadjutor* with the Earle of *Essex*, or rather placed as a *Superintendent* over him, to give them an accompt of his proceedings, they had made choice of Sir *Henry Vane* the yonger to attend that service. Who having had a good part of his breeding under the holy Ministers of *New-England*, was thought to be provided of sufficient zeale, not onely to inflame his *Excellencies* cold affections, but to kindle a more fiery spirit of *Rebellion* in his wavering *Soldiers*. And it was also certified, that the Earle of *Holland*, and the Lord *Howard* of *Escricke*, with certaine of the *Lower House* were Voted to be sent downe to his *Excellencie* from the remaining part in the two *Houses*, but to what end is not yet discovered, except it be to give him thanks (for why should they not be as bold with him, as with God Almighty) for getting so many signall victories over His Majesties Forces.

It was also signified by some Letters from beyond the Seas, with what regret the manifold indignities offered unto His Majestie by some of His *Rebellious* Subjects are heard of, & resented by *forraign States*: particularly, that the *Republique* of *Venice* is heavily displeased with their proceedings, and willing to afford His Majestie all possible assistance for the upholding of this *Monarchie*, though that be a *Republique*. And this appearcs

peares by the Declaration which they made of their good affections in the preſence of Mr *Talbot*, who remaines with that *State* for His Majeſties ſervice, to whom they ſignified on *June* 1. the high diſpleaſure *wherein they had received the notice of theſe diſturbances of His ſacred Majeſtie of* Great Brittain, *to whom they wiſhed all poſſible tranquillitie, praying to God that with his divine aſſiſtance he would grant him meanes to repaire thoſe diſorders*, and heartily profeſſing *that their deſires of being uſefull to His Majeſtie were as ſtrong and reall as the eſteem in which they held the excellencie of His diſpoſition and vertues*; which they deſired the ſaid Maſter *Talbot* to *repreſent unto His Majeſtie in ſuch a lively and full manner, as might be anſwerable to their affectionate obſervance and ſinceritie*. By which it ſeemes that if His Majeſtie had not wholly caſt himſelfe upon the loyaltie and good affections of His *Engliſh* Subjects, for the recoverie of His owne and their lawfull rights, he need not have deſpaired of help from His neighbour Kings (whoſe common intereſſe it is) ſince a *Republique* ſo farre off, profeſſeth ſuch a readineſſe to be uſefull and aſſiſtant to him.

It was alſo advertiſed from *London*, that though the zealous brethren there had formerly much preſſed the making of the new *Oath* and *Covenant*, for the *better diſcerning of the Wheat from Chaffe*, as their own words were: yet it was ſo diſtaſtfull unto the generalitie of that Citie, and unto many alſo of their owne Faction, that when it was to be tendred to them on the laſt *Faſt* day, moſt of the people ran tumultuouſly out of the Churches, and would not ſtay the hearing of it; the taking of it being no leſſe then notorious high Treaſon.

MONDAY, *July* 3.

Newes came this day by an expreſſe of a great Victorie the Earle of *New-Caſtle* had obtained againſt the *Rebels* in the *North*; the ſubſtance of the which is this. The *Rebels* under the command of the Lord *Fairefax* being in a manner blocked up at *Leedes*, and finding their condition deſperate, if they ſhould be ſtreightly beſieged, were willing to do ſomewhat for

their own preſervation, before the Earle of *New-Caſtle* had made up his Army, which could not but be much diminiſhed by withdrawing of ſo many of his Forces both Horſe and Foot, for a Convoy to the *Queens* Majeſty. Notice whereof being given unto the reſt of their faction diſperſed up and downe the Country, eſpecially unto their Brethren in *Lancaſhire*, and a day ſet to fall upon the Earle of *New-Caſtle* with all their power: they did accordingly iſſue out of *Leedes* with the greateſt part of their Forces, leaving three hundred onely in the Towne to make good the Ports. The Earle being thus aſſaulted by ſo great a Force commanded a ſtrong Partee of his choyceſt Horſe to get betwixt them and the Towne; and ſo prepared himſelfe to receive their charge; which was at firſt ſo ſtrong and violent, that His Majeſties Forces were fain to give ground untill they came within the reach of their owne Canon, which the Earle of *New-Caſtle* perceiving, he preſently alighted from his Horſe, went himſelfe to his Foot, and taking a Pike into his hand, bid them *follow him* aſſuring them, *not a man ſhould goe further then he himſelfe would lead them*, bidding them *now ſhew themſelves for King* Charles *and their Countrey, and by the help of God they would not leave one Rebel in the North*; wherby the Noble Earle ſo animated the whole Army that they charged with unexpreſſible courage, and ſo amazed the Rebels with the bravery of their coming on, that the Rebels ſoon fell into confuſion, and were not brought againe into rank and order, till the Earle made himſelfe maſter of the Rebels Canon, which he preſently turned againſt the Rebels; The fight whereof wrought ſuch aſtoniſhment amongſt them, that they fled diſorderly towards *Leedes*; but finding the paſſage intercepted by His Majeſties Horſe, they made what ſpeed they could to recover *Bradford*; but the Earle ſo bravely purſued his victory, that in the Fight and chaſe there were killed and taken above 2000. whereof above 1500. Priſoners, 5. peeces of Canon taken, and all the reſt ſhut up in *Bradford* and *Leedes*, whereof more anon. This newes as it was entertained with Bells and Bonefires, ſo a *true* Thankſgiving for it was appointed on the Thurſday following to be held in all the

the principall Churches of *Oxford*, which was performed accordingly.

It was ſignified alſo in the ſame letters, that Sir *John Hotham* was diſplaced from the government of *Hull*, and ſent away priſoner to *London*. And that they had of late committed his ſonne Captaine *Hotham*, who as you heard laſt weeke made an eſcape from *Nottingham* (where he was firſt made priſoner) and recovered *Lincoln*; from whence it ſeemes he came very opportunely unto *Hull*, to be made priſoner with his father. For being they were reſolved to truſt neither of them, it did concerne them very highly to make ſure of both: and to that end they ſent down a Commiſſion to Sir *Mathew Boynton* a declared *Anabaptiſt* (and therefore more ſerviceable to their ends) to ſeize on *Hotham*, and take poſſeſſion of the Town. Who comming thither unſuſpected, as being *Hothams* brother in law, and one in whom he much confided, made himſelfe maſter of the *Magazine*, and brought over all the ſouldiers to him, before *Hotham* had any notice of the practiſe. But finding his danger, though too late, he made haſt to *Beverly* where he was ſet upon by his own ſouldiers, whom *Boynton* had before corrupted; by whom he was purſued back againe to *Hull*, and at the gate called *Beverly* gate (being the very place at which he had moſt impudently denied his Majeſty entrance into the Town) was beaten off his horſe with the end of a muſket, and there taken priſoner. That done they ſeized on his wife and children, rifled his houſe, and plundered him of all that treaſure which he before had raked together out of the ſpoyle and ruine of his fellow Subjects, and having ranſacked his eſtate to the value of 100001 in their accompt who ſpeake the leaſt (for ſome ſay 200001, ſome a great deale more) ſent him, his ſonne, together with his wife and their children in a ſhip to *London*, there to expect the further pleaſure of the *Houſes*; Whom the world ſees are bountifull good maſters to knock downe him with the butt end of a muſket, who had furniſhed them with the Kings whole Magazine. So richly doth the Devill uſe to reward his ſervants.

TUESDAY. *July* 4.

You heard before how thankfully the remaining part in the Two *Houſes* dealt with Sir *William Lewis*; how with *Hotham* now. Which ſad examples, the one in execution, the other in project, wrought ſo farre upon Colonell *Herbert Morley*, one of their principall ſticklers in the County of *Suſſex*, that ſeeing what reward he was to looke for, he rather choſe to lay down his *Commiſſion* (as was this day certified) then that it ſhould be taken from him. And it was alſo certified this day that *Hampdens* Regiment, on the aſſurance of his death did forſake their colours, and returne againe into their own Countries: and that moſt of the *Hertfordſhire* men who formerly had ſerved under the command of the Earle of *Eſſex*, ſeeing how unproſperouſly the world went with him, were gone homeward alſo.

It was advertiſed from *Newarke*, that the great body of the *Rebels* which hovered all this while about *Nottingham*, are ſeparated and diſperſed into their ſeverall quarters; *Gell* being gone backe againe to his holds in *Darbyſhire*; thoſe which were young *Hothams* Forces marched towards *Lincolne*; *Cromwell* and the Lord *Grey* to *Leiceſter*, (of which you had ſomewhat the laſt weeke) where on a difference fallen betweene them, they were like to part; and that there were no more left in *Nottingham* then 1500 foote, and 7 troopes of horſe and *Dragooners*, which were under the Command of Sir *John Meldrum*; by which it is conjectured that they drew together to that place out of an hope to intercept the Queenes Majeſty in Her paſſage towards *Oxford*, but finding Her too ſtrongly guarded, and come in ſafety unto *Newarke* (maugre all their Forces) they thought it fitteſt to returne to their owne homes, and looke unto the ſaving of themſelves in their owne commands. But whatſoever the deſigne was, this generall dividing of their Forces, ſhewes it is come to nothing: and that they have but ſmall hopes to ſubſiſt divided, ſince they could do ſo little being joyned together.

It was advertiſed this day alſo, that a letter was ſent lately from

from His Majesties *Iustices* and others of the Councell in the Kingdome of *Ireland*, (to Master *Lenthall* Speaker of the House of *Commons*) complayning lamentably of the miserable condition of that Kingdome, and earnestly desiring such supplies to be sent unto them, as might preserve the same from a present ruine. But the remaining party in that *House* are so affectionately ingaged in the ruine of *England*, that they can find no leisure to bethinke themselves of any course for preserving of *Ireland*. And it is also certified in the said letters, that the distressed Protestants, and other His Majesties Loyall Subjects of that Kingdome, are so farre from having any comfort, or helpe from hence; that the most and greatest miseries which they suffer under, come from the shipping of this Kingdome, pretended to be kept upon the Seas for defence of that. Concerning which the letters from thence say thus: *None of the ships designed for guar-*
"*ding these coasts, do attend this Harbour or passage betwixt Eng-*
"*land and this City of Dublin, but shipping are daily chased by*
"*pirates even at the mouth of this harbour. And the shipping de-*
"*signed for guarding the Coast, doe so interrupt those that would*
"*bring us in victualls and other provisions, as all men are discou-*
"*raged from adventuring hither* (let the Reader mark this very
"well) *this army in the meane time being ready to sterve for want*
"*of bread.* It seemes they thinke it not enough to loose that Kingdome by their negligence, in case they be not active in the finall destruction of it; as commonly men are who doe desire to perish in a publike ruine.

WEDNESDAY. *July* 5.

This day it was advertised, that the Earle of *Essex* finding that he was not able to defend himselfe in his owne quarters at *Tame*; and that his Forces were so much discouraged and diminished, that hee had no hopes to keepe the field; had raised his Army up from *Tame*, and was gone to *Winchinton*, Master *Goodwins* house, not farre from *Aylesbury*.

It was also signified this day, that a Partee of His Majesties horse being sent from *Buckingham* by Prince *Rupert*, had fallen upon

upon the *Rebels* quarters, and ſped ſo fortunately in the action, that they had taken 80 of their horſe, and brought away 30 of the *Rebels* with them. And it was alſo ſignified, that the Princes Forces were very much increaſed by the cheerefull coming in of the Country to him.

You heard before with what offence and indignation the State of *Venice* entertained the newes of the *Rebellion* raiſed againſt His Majeſtie by ſome of His ſeditious Subjects; and you ſhall heare now that the confederate *States* of the *united Provinces* like it little better. For it was certified this day, that the Earle of *Warwicke* being out at Sea with His Majeſties Navy, met with a Fleet of *Hollanders*, whom he commanded to ſtrike ſayle, as the cuſtome is. To which the *Admirall* made Anſwer, that *he would not doe it on thoſe commands, without he ſaw ſome better reaſon for it, then he believed they had to ſhew him. For if his Lordſhip had Commiſſion from the King of* England (as he conceived he had no ſuch) *he ſhould let him ſee it, and then they would be ready to make that acknowledgement which the ancient uſage did require. But if his Lordſhip had Commiſſion onely from the States of Parliament, his Lordſhip might doe well to know that thoſe of the united Provinces were the* Elder States, *and would acknowledge no ſuperiority in ſuch young beginners*; and ſo ſayled by without more Ceremony, his Lordſhip being extreamely ſenſible that the Anſwer had in it too much truth and reaſon.

THURSDAY, *July 6.*

It was advertiſed from *London* that one Maſter *Croſſe* a zealous Lecturer at S. *Mary Mildreds* in the *Poultry*, on Sunday laſt (amongſt much other precious ſtuffe) delivered to his Auditors this blaſphemous doctrine: *viz. That if God did not finiſh the good worke which he had begun in the Reformation of this Church, he would ſhew himſelfe to be the God of Confuſion, and ſuch a one as by cunning* ſtratagems *had contrived the deſtruction of his owne children.* To ſuch an height of *Atheiſme* are they growne at laſt, that having actually rebelled againſt their

their Soveraigne the Lords Anointed, they thinke it no impiety to quarrell with God himſelfe for bringing confuſion on them and their complices.

Being growne thus bold with God Almighty, it is no wonder if their *Abetters* be as inſolent towards their fellow-ſubjects. Concerning which it was alſo certified from thence, that Maſter *Tomkins*, Clerke of the Counſell to the Queenes Majeſtie, and Maſter *Chaloner* a Citizen of *London* (whom amongſt others His Majeſtie had named in His late Commiſſion for ſuppreſſing the Rebellion in the County of *Middleſex* and *London*) were by a new Councell of Warre (conſiſting of *Kimbolton*, *Mainwaring*, *Ven*, the *Devill*, and a few others) condemned to be hanged, and accordingly were murthered on Tueſday laſt by the hands of the publike Hangman, the Traine-bands of that deſperate wretched Citie being commanded to attend, for feare the people ſhould riſe and reprieve the Priſoners. Maſter *Tomkins* being on the Ladder before his owne doore in *Holborne* for his further diſgrace, (if it were any ſhame to ſuffer for being loyall to the Lords Anointed) was demanded on what ſuggeſtions he had undertooke the buſineſſe, anſwered, *out of a duty to his Soveraigne, whoſe bread he had eaten many years*, & after being asked what he conceived of the juſtice of the ſentence paſt againſt him, he told them *he would make no anſwer unto that at all, but leave the matter to God*; And thereupon finding they were like to trouble him with impertinent queſtions, deſired the Executioner to performe his office, which was done preſently. Maſter *Chaloner* was murthered in the ſame manner alſo, before his owne houſe in *Cornehill*: And there came alſo a ſtrong report, that Mr *Hazell* for the ſame buſineſſe was not only found dead in priſon (which is moſt unqueſtionably true) but that when the women came to ſhrowd him (as the manner is) they found all the joints of his body ſo ſtrangely diſlocated, as too plainly ſhewed hee dyed upon the Racke. And now let poſterity judge, if theſe barbarous Rebels are not the ſhame of our Nation, who though they never thrived ſince their damnable murthering thoſe famous Ci-

tizens of *Briſtol*; (whoſe bloud ever ſince hath cried ſo loud for vengeance on all the Rebels Forces) have yet proceeded to another freſh murther on theſe Gentlemen at *London*, which (if *Venemous beaſts bite deepeſt when they are dying*, and *if the Deuill rage moſt horribly when his Kingdome is neareſt to an end*) evidently diſcovers that the Tyranny of theſe men (if I might ſo call them) is not like to be long-liv'd.

But after all theſe fearefull *Tragedies*, to let you heare ſome newes of more pleaſing nature; it was advertiſed this day, that Prince *Maurice* hearing of a Partee which *Waller* had ſent out to obtaine a Paſſe over *Bradford*-bridge, not farre from *Bath*, ſent out an anſwerable ſtrength to deprive them of it. Who did their worke ſo valiantly like men of courage, that they did not onely gaine that *Paſſe* for the Princes uſe, but killed neare an hundred of the *Rebels*, and drave the reſidue into *Bath*: from whence you ſhall heare farther in a day or two.

This day alſo we were certified, that the worthy members now in the *Two Houſes* have ſent their apology to the *States Generall* for ſlandering his Highneſſe the Prince of *Aurange* about ſhips comeing from *Dunkirque* with a paſſe from his Highneſſe; the worthy members ſaying, that *they are glad to find that what they ſaid of his Highneſſe proves to be falſe*, which is an admirable conveyance to bring off a ſlanderer, as if 4 or 5 knaves ſhould conſpire againſt a Gentleman and openly accuſe him of theft or murther, the Gentleman purging himſelfe, it ſhall ſuffice thoſe ſlanderers to ſay they are glad that he hath proved himſelfe an honeſt gentleman; But the States (as we told you) doe plead *Seniority*, and will make the *Members* know they are but new beginners.

This day alſo we had intelligence, that 60 able Citizens of *London* were in the begining of this weeke ſummoned to appeare at Habberdaſhers hall, who being requeſted to lend 500l a man, anſwered, that they had lent, given and contributed according to their abilities and therefore deſired now to be excuſed, which ſo diſcontented the *Publike faith* men, that they ſaid openly, *if a good bargaine or purchaſe ſhould offer it ſelfe to them they would quickly finde monies*, but the wiſe Cittizens perceived

perceived the reigne of theſe members begins to expire, and this over earneſt ſcraping for mony is a ſhrewd ſigne they are packing up, to carry all they can to their *Publique cheat* beyond ſea, where ſuch vaſt ſummes are laid up *in banco*, for the future maintenance of the baniſhed Members.

FRIDAY. *July*. 7.

It was advertiſed this day, that the *Synod* which by the pretended *Ordinance* of the Two Houſes, was to begin on the firſt of *July*, was put off till the Thurſday following, being the ſixth of the preſent moneth, that matters might be prepared for them whereupon to treat: it being not yet revealed to my Lord *Say*, Maſter *Pym*, and others of their Aſſociates, in the *Committees* for *Religion*, what *Goſpell* 'tis that muſt be preached and ſettled by theſe new *Evangeliſts*. Onely it is reported that certaine of the godly *Miniſters* did meete that day in the *Abby Church* at a ſermon, and had ſome *Doctrines*, and *uſes*; but what elſe done, and to what purpoſe that was done, we may heare hereafter.

You heard on munday the fortunate ſucceſſe which God gave His Majeſtie in the great fight on *Bradford-more*, where the body of the *Yorkiſh Rebells* was beaten out of the field, and thoſe of *Lancaſhire* beaten backe againe into their owne Country: Which field was fought on Friday, the laſt of *June*. And this day it was ſignified by an *expreſſe*, that the Earle of *Newcaſtle* following the courſe of his good fortune had preſently laid ſeige to *Bradford*, beſtowing on the ſame on Saturday morning, for a ſalutation no leſſe then forty ſhot from his great Artillery: and plying the buſineſſe very cloſely had made himſelfe maſter of the Towne on the morrow after: in which he tooke 2000 Priſoners, with all the Arms, Horſe, & Ammunition, which either the *Rebels* found in the towne, or brought thither with them. As for their Generall *Fairfax*, finding the towne unable to hold out againſt ſo ſtrong and valiant an enemie (the ſo much celebrated *Club-men* being ſtrangely ſhrunke up and now unable to relieve his Lordſhip) he was fled thence the night before

fore with only one Troope of Horſe, and with great difficultie recovered *Leedes*. Which is no more then to ſhift his place but not to better his condition. As alſo that the *Rebells* in the town of *Halifax* hearing of the ſucceſſe of *Bradford*, did deſert the place, which thereupon did inſtantly ſubmit to his ſacred Majeſty: ſo that the warre in theſe parts is reduced to a narrow compaſſe; there being now no place of ſtrength remaining to the *Rebels*, but *Leedes* and *Hull*, of which more to morrow.

For as for *Hull* it was advertiſed this day, that Sir *Hugh Cholmeley* making uſe of the diſtractions which were raiſed in that Towne upon the apprehending and commitment of Sir *John Hotham*, had drawne his Forces downe to *Beverly*, and falling gallantly upon it had gained the Market place, and chaſed the Soldiers there in Garriſon to the Gates of *Hull*, where being come, and knowing that Sir *Matthew Boynton* was not ſo well ſetled in his new Kingdome, but that his Subjects might be eaſily induced to leave him for a better Maſter; cauſed a *Parley* to be ſummoned; and wrought ſo much both on the Townes-men and the Soldiers (who by the loſſe of *Beverly* were utterly deprived of all hopes of reliefe by land) that they conſented at the laſt to hold the Towne for His Majeſtie onely, upon condition His Majeſtie would give them leave to chooſe their Governour.

SATURDAY. *July* 8.

This day there came to Towne two intercepted letters of Sir *William Brereton*, (which with the Meſſengers fell into the hands of ſome of His Majeſties ſouldiers garriſon'd in *Dudley* Caſtle;) the one ſuperſcribed to his Excellency *the Earle of Eſſex*, the other *to the much honoured Maſter Pym*, dated from *Stafford* on the fifth of *July*, being Wedneſday laſt: In which he doth acquaint them with the ſad condition of their affaires in the North, the defeating of the whole Forces of the Lord *Faireſax* and thoſe of *Lancaſhire* by the Earle of *Newcaſtle*; the taking of *Bradford* by His Majeſties Forces; the deſerting of *Halifax* by the *Rebels*; the flight of the Lord *Faireſax* and

Sir

Sir *Thomas Fairefax* to *Leedes*, where they were beſieged; the reducing of that whole County to His Majeſtie, except *Leedes* and *Hull*: informing them withall that he himſelfe is ſo held to it by the Lord *Capels* Forces, that he is not able to aſſiſt them; and therefore that unleſſe his *Excellency* were able to ſend aide, or that ſome courſe be taken by Maſter *Pym* for the ſpeedy bringing in of the *Scots* (ſee what *Patriots* theſe men are) the whole game was loſt. Which Letters His Majeſtie cauſed to be this day printed, and ſent the *originals* by a Trompeter to the Earle of *Eſſex*.

But the cheife intelligence of the day was the Weſterne newes, which therefore was the more look'd after, becauſe ſome body either out of feare or knavery had ſpread a falſe rumour that His Majeſties Forces in the Weſt had beene worſted by Sir *William Waller*, which was moſt impudently falſe, as you ſhall heare by an impartiall collection out of 3 ſeverall Expreſſes from ſuch hands as (ſhould I name them) you would ſay are not capable of a lye.

On Wedneſday *July* 5. *Sir* William Waller *advanc'd with his whole Bodie upon the hither end of* Lands downe, *a place of very great advantage, whence he ſent out a good Partee of Horſe and Foot towards us, lyning the Hedges towards our champane, and there advanced a ſtrong Partee of Horſe under the protection of their Muſkettiers, & ſome of our Horſe being drawn out within muſket ſhot, retired in ſome diſorder towards the Reere of our Foot, whereupon Sir* Bevill Greenvill *and Sir* Nicholas Slaynings *Regiments of Corniſh Foot advanc'd and bravely beat them out of the Hedges, but our Horſe ſpeedily rallyed again and recovered their ground: then a ſtrong Partee of their Horſe drew into a large Field upon our left Wing, which our Horſe charged and entirely rowted, and our Corniſh Foot drove theirs from Hedge to Hedge, through Woods and ſteepe Hills back to their maine Bodie, and at laſt forc'd them from the brow of the Hill which they had barricadoed, and whereupon they had planted their Canon. For the ground, they had was of mighty advantage, being a high Hill walled about behind and upon both ſides, with works in the Front, the paſſage up very narrow and dange-*

rows, one side being a Wood, the other full of hedges, both of them strongly lined with Musketiers; and having gotten t his ground wee found the Enemie in an entire Body, his Foot placed within certaine stony walls of great strength, through which he had prepared divers places for his Horse to sallye, being drawne up in Battalio in the Reere of his Foot. Before our Horse and Foot could draw up in Battalia they charged us with their Horse, and played so thick upon us with their Cannon and Musketiers, that they (by advantage of the place) forc'd us from the hill, which notwithstanding wee assaulted againe and againe three severall times, and the fourth time with unimaginable difficulty wee possessed the top of it, which Sir Bevill Greenvill maintayned with his stand of Cornish Pikes against all their power of Horse, Foot, and Cannon, to the wonder and amazement of both friends and enemies, where this brave gentleman was most honourably, though unfortunately slayne in the front of his men, with his Serjeant Major and Captaine Lieutenant dead at his feet, ending his life with as much honour, as mortall flesh is capable of. Then wee rallyed our Horse and drew up our Cannon, and by that time it grew darke, notwithstanding shot of all sorts played on each side till midnight, when the Rebels stuck their Matches on the Hedges, upon which wee gave a volley from every part of our Bodie, which instead of answering they ran quite away, leaving us the Field, where wee found above 500. Muskets, 14. Barrells of Powder, a whole stand of Pikes, together with good store of all sorts of Armes, they having stollen away their Cannon when they left their light Matches. All which in the morning wee having carefully searched and viewed, our men being much tyred with extreame labour, and pin'd with hunger, retired into our Quarter. The Fight lasted from two in the afternoon till one the next morning, wherein (besides Sir Bevill Greenvill before mentioned) were slaine of His Majesties Forces 8. C[illegible]rs and Gentlemen of note, viz. Master Leak sonne to the Lor[illegible]incourt, who with one Troop charged three of the Rebels Troops (being their Forlorne hope) where the brave Gentleman was slayn and found dead on the ground with a Colour taken of the Rebels fo[illegible] in his Armes; Master Barker a gallant Gentleman, which [illegible] had

each

each a brother in the ſame Troop (*Maſter* Charles Leak *and young Maſter* Barker) *who bravely revenged their brothers death*; *Lieutenant Colonell* Wall, *Serjeant Major* Lower, *Captaine* James, *Captaine* Cholwell, *& Maſter* Boſſard, *who all behaved themſelves as well as poſſibly men could do, but of Common ſoldiers ſo few as tis not credible in ſo long and diſadvantageous a Battaile as this was. The Rebels Foot were abſolutely routed, and all diſperſed or cut off, his loſſe of Officers and Horſe very great, though wee know not the particulars as yet, wee are confident wee kill'd many hundred of his men, having the Field, the Armes, Pillage, and all other ſignes of an abſolute Victory.*

This day alſo wee were certified by an *expreſſe* brought to the Court by Maſter *Progers*, that the *Queens* Majeſties Forces had taken *Burton* upon *Trent*, which had faire warning given it by two ſeverall ſummons, and yet had that Rebellious impudence to ſtand it out the third time, ſo as they were forced to take it by aſſault; wherein they took Maſter *Haughton* the Governour of the Towne, and his ſeditious Lady, who (to the diſgrace of her Sex) ſhewed her ſelfe as active againſt the *Queens* Majeſty, as her Husband and his fellow Rebels had been againſt the King; and yet Her Majeſties goodneſſe and clemency was ſo exemplary, and like Her Royall ſelfe, that She forbad any violence to be offered to the Town. What Armes and particular number of Priſoners were in the Towne, the expreſſe did not certifie.

But that which made the Bearer moſt welcome to Court was the certaine newes that the noble and valiant Earle of *New-Caſtle* had ſo farre perſued his victory that he had taken *Leedes* alſo (that infamous neſt of Rebellion) with all the Rebels whom the Earle had chaſed in thither; the Lord *Fairefax* and Sir *Thomas Fairefax* ſtealing thence by night with 5 men only, who within theſe ten daies had full 5000. Sr *Thomas Fairefax* his Lady who moſt bleomingly had charged in her husbands Troop was there tooke priſoner (as well as Maſter *Haughtons* Ladie) Sir *Thomas* moſt nobly leaving her behind; for the Rebels are [illegible] *husbands as Subjects*. So that now the Reader may [illegible] he *London* Intelligencer be a Prophet or not, who in his [illegible]t weekes Diurnall ſaid expreſſely that *A Bleſſing attends*

tends the Army of my Lord Fairefax, *& we ſhall find it ſo in the end.*

By Letters from *Exeter* were advertiſed that His Majeſties Forces there have laid ſo cloſe ſeige to the City, that the Citizens have deſired a meeting with ſome of the cheife Officers, whereupon His Majeſties Forces appointed a meeting on Munday laſt at *Crediton* for them of the *City*, *Barnſtable*, *Biddeford*, *Plymouth*, and *Dartmouth* to give them their lives and peace ſo as His Majeſtie may have His right to thoſe places; the perſons which are to meet with them are the Kings Commanders there, the Sheriffe, Juſtices of Peace, the Miniſters, and two ableſt men of every Pariſh; what the iſſue is you may heare next weeke.

From *London* wee were certified, that one Maſter *Carleton* hath ſo frequently feaſted the *Worthy Members*) one whereof was Maſter *Pym* who the world knowes is a man of quicke diſpatch) that they have eaten the ſaid *Carleton* into a pretty broken fortune, and rendered him fit to be a *new* Common-Counceil man; but to make him whole againe, the *Worthies* have preferred him to a Captaines place in his Excellencies Army, where if he thrive apace, hee may riſe to be as high as *Manwaring*, or *Ven*, at *leaſt* as great as the Earle *Eſſex*.

But the Parliament *Scout* hath brought us more newes, as firſt that *the Earle of Eſſex would have advanced towards Oxford if much raine had not fallen and hindred him* (& next time the wind will blow.) Secondly, that *his Excellence will take Oxford by ſtarving the Cavaliers* (and is therefore run into *Bedfordſhire*, to deſire that County to ſend no meat to *Oxford*.) Thirdly *that Marqueſſe Hartford is in low condition and is come in perſon to Oxford* (which if he will make good *Waller* ſhall make him *Scoutmaſter-Generall*). Fourthly, that *the L.* Fairefax *with a great power is now in the field* (The Earle of *New-Caſtle* would faine know that field, for the Earle cannot finde him ſince he ſtole out of *Leedes*) Laſtly, (for you ſee this *Scout* would coſt us paper) he ſaies, that *the Parliament hath uſed too much mildneſſe*, that is, this faction hath ſpilt ſo much innocent blood, as within this moneth hath drawne a manifeſt curſe on their bottomleſſe, darke deſignes.

FINIS.

ORDERS

Eſtabliſht in the

Popiſh generall Aſsembly,

Held (under the ſpecious pretence of Supreme Authority, and being his Majeſties good Subjects) at the City of

KILKENNY

IN

IRELAND.

Wherein

Both Root and Branches of the Engliſh Nation, as alſo the very Eſſence of Proteſtant Religion are wholly ſtruck at.

Impune quælibet facere id eſt Regem eſſe.

LONDON,

Printed by *Richard Biſhop*, for *Lawrence Blaiklock*, and are to be ſold at the Sugar-loafe within Temple Barre, 1643.

Orders made and eſtabliſhed by the Lords Spirituall and Temporall, and the reſt of the Generall Aſſembly for the Kingdom of *Ireland*, met at the City of *Kilkenny* the 24th day of October *Anno Dom.* 1642. and in the 18th yeare of the Reign of our Soveraign Lord King CHARLES *by the Grace of God King of Great Brittaine, France, and Ireland, &c.*

IMprimis, That the Roman Catholike Church in *Ireland* ſhall and may have and enjoy the Priviledges and Immunities, according to the great Charter made and declared within the Realme of *England* in the ninth yeare of King *Henry* the third, ſometimes King of *England*, and Lord of *Ireland*, and afterwards enacted and confirmed in this Realm of *Ireland*; and that the Common Law of *England*, and all the Statutes of force in this Kingdome which are not againſt the Catholike Roman Religion, or the liberties of the Natives and other liberties of this Kingdome, ſhall bee obſerved throughout the whole Kingdome, and that all proceedings in civill and criminal cauſes ſhall be according to the ſaid laws.

2. *Item*, That all and every perſon and perſons within this Realme ſhall beare Faith and true Allegeance unto our Soveraigne Lord King *Charles* by the Grace of God King of great

Brittaine, *France*, and *Ireland*, his Heires, and lawfull Succeſſors, and ſhall uphold and maintaine his and their Rights, and lawfull Prerogatives with the utmoſt skill & power of ſuch perſon or perſons, againſt all manner of perſons whatſoever.

3 *Item*, That the common Laws of *England* and *Ireland*, and the ſaid Statutes, called the great Charter, and every Clauſe, Branch, and Article thereof, and all other Statutes confirming, expounding, or declaring the ſame, ſhall be punctually obſerved within this Kingdome, ſo farre forth as the condition of the preſent times, during theſe times, can by poſſibilities give way thereunto; and after the warre is ended, the ſame to be obſerved without any limitation or reſtriction whatſoever.

4. In as much as the City of *Dublin* is the uſuall and principall ſeat of Juſtice of this Kingdome, where the Parliament and ordinary Courts were held, and ſome other places where principall Councels were ſomtimes kept, are as yet poſſeſſed and commanded by the Malignant party, who are enimies to God and their King, and his Majeſties well affected Subjects; this Aſſembly is neceſſitated, during this warre in ſome formalities and circumſtances, to deviate from the proceedings preſcribed by the ſaid Lawes and Statutes, nevertheleſſe retaineth the ſubſtance and eſſence thereof, ſo farre forth as the endleſſe malice and cruelty of their enemies, the ſaid Malignant party doth permit; who ſhut up the ſaid places, and other paſſages and wayes to his Majeſties Juſtice and Mercy, from his Majeſties well affected Subjects of this Kingdome: For the exaltation therefore of the holy Roman Catholike Church, for the advancement of his Majeſties ſervice, and the preſervation of the lives, eſtates, and liberties of his Majeſties true Subjects of this Kingdome, againſt the Injuſtice, Murders, Maſſacres, Rapes, Depredations, Robberies,

Robberies, Burning, frequent breaches of Publick Faith, and Quarter and Destruction daily perpetrated and acted upon his Majesties said Subjects, and advised contrived and daily executed by the said Malignant party; some of them mannaging the Government and Affaires of State in *Dublin*, and some other parts of this Kingdome, to his Highnesse greatest disservice, and complying with their Confederates, the Malignant party, in *England* and elsewhere; who (as it is manifest to all the world) doe complot and practise to dishonour and destroy his Majestie, his Royall Consort the Queene, their Issue, and Monarchall Government, which is of most dangerous Consequence to all the Monarchs and Princes of Christendome.

The said Assembly doth Order and establish a Councell by name of a Supreme Councell, of the Confederate Catholikes of *Ireland*, who are to consist of the number of foure and twenty, to bee forthwith named by the Assembly; whereof twelve at the least to be forthwith named, shall reside in this Kingdome, or where else they shall think expedient; and the Members of the said Councell shall have equall Votes, and two parts of three or more concurring, present Votes to conclude; and no fewer to sit in Councell then nine, whereof seven at least are to concurre: and of the foure and twenty a President shall bee named by the Assembly, who is to bee one of the said twelve resident; and if in case of his death, absence, or sickneſſe, the rest of these who shall bee resident, may name a Vice-President of the said foure and twenty: and the said Councell shall have the Power and Preheminence following, *viz.*

The Lords Generals, and all other Commanders of Armies,

and civill Magiſtrates and Officers in the ſeverall Provinces ſhall obſerve their Orders and Decrees, and ſhall doe nothing contrary to their directions, and ſhall give them ſpeedy advertiſement and accompt of their proceedings and actions, with as much expedition as may be. That the ſaid Councell ſhall have power to order and determine all ſuch matters as by this Aſſembly ſhall bee left undetermined, and ſhall be recommended unto them, and their Orders therein to bee of force untill the next Aſſembly, and after untill the ſame bee revoked.

That the ſaid Councell ſhall have power and authority to doe and execute all manner of Acts and things conducing to the advancement of the Catholike Cauſe, and good of this Kingdome, and concerning this warre, as if done by the Aſſembly; and ſhall have power to heare and determine all matters capitall, criminall, or civill, excepting the right or title of Land.

That the Generals, or other Commanders of Armies, and all Governors or civill Magiſtrates, and all other Perſons within this Realme, ſhall obey the Orders and Decrees of the ſaid Councell touching the preſent Service.

That the Councell ſhall have for their Guard the number of five hundred Foot and two hundred Horſe, to be equally extracted out of the Armies of the foure Provinces.

5. *Item*, It is further ordered and eſtabliſhed, that in every Province of this Kingdom there ſhall be a Provinciall Councell, and in every County a County Councell: the Provinciall Councell to bee compoſed of the number of two of each County, and the ſaid Provinciall Councell ſhall chuſe a Preſident of themſelves.

6. That the Provinciall Councell ſhall ſit foure times a yeare, and oftner if there be cauſe for it; that they ſhall have

power

power and authority to renew or reverſe the Judgement of the County Councell, the party complaining entring ſecurity, *de adjudicat. ſolvend.* and ſhall (during the trouble) have power to heare and determine all matters of the Crown, as Judges of *Oyer and Terminer*, and Goale delivery, were wont to doe, ſo that no ſpirituall perſon be preſent at the determining of matters of blood; and ſhall have power to heare and determine all civill Cauſes, and to eſtabliſh Rents and Poſſeſſions, ſo they meddle not with the title of land other then in caſe of Dower or Joynture: and the Sheriffs, Provinciall Generals, and all Commanders of the Armies, in caſe of diſobedience, are reſpectively required to execute the Decrees and Orders; and in caſe of Debts and Accompts, great conſideration is to be had of the diſabilities of Creditors occaſioned by the warre.

7. *Item*, In every County there ſhall be a County Councell, conſiſting of one or two of each Barony, at the election of the County: and where there are not Baronies, the Councell of ſuch County to conſiſt of the number of twelve, and the ſaid County Councell ſhall have power and authority in all points, as Juſtices of the Peace, to heare and determine all matters concerning the Offices of the Juſtices of Peace, and all matters of the Crowne happening within every ſuch County; and the Delinquent, being a Free-holder, may if he pleaſe have his triall in the Province, and heare and determine debts, treſpaſſes, and perſonall demands, and to doe all things as Juſtices of the Peace were accuſtomed to doe, and to reſtore and eſtabliſh Poſſeſſions taken by force or fraud ſince theſe troubles; and likewiſe to take a ſpeciall care, that Tenants and Farmers bee kept to their Farms where they were uſed, and to be preſerved from extortion and oppreſſion; and that Trades, Tradeſmen, Manufactures, Agriculture,

culture, and Husbandry bee maintained and duly kept.

8. *Item*, In every County there shall be Corronors, high Sheriffs, high Constables, petty Constables, and Goalors, who are to do their respective Offices as accustomed; the high Sheriffe to be confirmed or nominated by the Supreme Councell out of three to be presented by the County Councell, and the high Sheriffe is required to execute the Command, Orders, and Decrees of the Provinciall and County Councell.

9. *Item*, In Cities and Towns Corporate Justice is to be done, and the Lawes executed as is accustomed.

10. *Item*, In every County the high Sheriffe shall be Provost Marshiall, and shall have power to execute a lay man not worth five pounds, and none other, for murder, man-slaughter, burglary, theft, robbery, or other capitall offence, provided the party to be executed may have foure and twenty houres time to prepare his soule; and that the Supreme or Provinciall Councell shall and may name more Provost Marshialls, as they shall think expedient, quallified with the like authority.

11. *Item*, It is further ordered, that no temporall Government or Jurisdiction shall be assumed, kept, or exercised in this Kingdome, or within any County or Province thereof, during these troubles, other then is before expressed, except such Jurisdiction and Government as is, or shall be, approved by this Generall Assembly, or the Supreme Councell.

12. *Item*, It is further ordered, that whosoever hath entred, since the first day of October 1641. or shall hereafter, during the continuance of the warre in this Kingdom, enter into the Lands, Tenements, or Hereditaments, at or immediately before the first day of October, either by himselfe or his under Tenants, or by receiving the Rents, Issues, or Profits thereof, shall immediately restore, upon demand, the said Possession

to

to the party or parties so put out, with such reasonable damages, as the Councell Provinciall or Supreme shall think fit; and if the party refuse to restore the said Possession as aforesaid, upon demand of the party so put out, his heires or assignes, made to the said possessor, his servants, or adherents in the premises or publication of this Order within the parish where such land lieth, that upon his or their deniall thereof, or default therein, he, his heires and assignes shall be for ever after debarred and secluded from all and every right, title, interest, and demand which he or they may make or pretend to all or any the said lands, tenements, or hereditaments: and if after such deniall or default made, the said party, his heires or assignes shall not immediately restore the possession of the said lands, tenements, or hereditaments so gained to the party grieved, his heires or assignes, that he, they, and his or their adherents in the premises, shall be declared and proceeded with as enemies. Provided, and so it is meant, that if any of the parties so put out be declared a Neuter or enemy by the Supreme or Provinciall Councell; then the party who gained the possession, as aforesaid, shall give up the possession to such Person or Persons as shall be named either by the said Councell Provinciall, or Supreme Councell, to be disposed of towards the maintenance of the generall Cause, upon the paine and penalty aforesaid.

And as for the Rents and meane Profits of the said lands, tenements, and hereditaments, and all kinde of Rents, and the goods or chattels taken or detained from any Catholike, as aforesaid; due satisfaction is to be made for the same to the parties from whom the Rents, Goods, or Chattels were or shall be detained, since these troubles begun, as the Provinciall Councell, or County Councell shall respectively order.

13. *Item*, It is further ordered and established for the re-

 moval

moveall of evill disorder and enmity, and to the end that all men may bend their thoughts and actions to the Common Cause, that all possessions of Lands, and Heredinaments shall continue and remaine unto such as have already joyned in this union, as they have beene, for three years past, next before the begining of these troubles, and that no title of Land shall be drawn into any debate or question, untill the next Assembly, other then in case of Morgages, Leases, and particular estates *de facto* determined, or determinable by effluxion or other determination thereof.

14. *Item*, For the avoiding of nationall distinction between the subjects of his Majesties Dominions, which this Assembly doth utterly detest and abhor, & which ought not to be endured in a well governed Common wealth: It is ordered and established, that upon paine of the highest punishment which may be inflicted by authority of this Assembly, that every Roman Catholike, as well English, Welsh, and Scotch, who was of that Profession before the troubles, and who will come and please to reside in this Kingdom, & joyn in the present union, shall be preserved and cherished in his life, goods, and estate by the power, authority, and force (if need require it) of all the Catholikes of *Ireland*, as full and freely as any Native borne therin, & shall be acquitted & eased of one third part in three parts to be divided, of publique charges or leavies, raised or to be raised for the maintenance of this holy warre.

15. *Item*, And it is further ordered & established, that there shall be no distinction or compabison made betwixt old Irish and old or new English, or betwixt septs and families, or betwixt Citizens & Townsmen & Countreymen joyning in this union, on paine of the highest punishment that can be inflicted by any the Councels aforesaid, according to the nature and quality of the offences and division like to spring thence.

16. *Item*,

16. *Item*, It is further ordered and eſtabliſhed, that all new Converts borne in any his Majeſties Dominions, or elſwhere, without manifeſt occaſion given by the perſons converted, to the contrary, and joyning in this Cauſe, ſhall be accompted Catholikes and Natives to all intents and purpoſes.

17. *Item*, It is further ordered & eſtabliſhed, that all Artificers, Artizans, Navigators, & Marriners, not being Denizens, who ſhall pleaſe to reſide in this Kingdome, ſhall during their reſidence in this Kingdom, after ſuch time as they & their families ſhall be here ſetled, have and enjoy their free liberties and priviledges of Natives in all reſpects.

Item, It is further ordered & eſtabliſhed, that in regard of the preſent eſtate & condition of this kingdom, eſpecially if he a Catholik, or any other Catholik, is admitted of, or permitted to continue in the Ins of Court, & to the end the laudable laws of *Eng.* & *Ireland* may not dy amidſt the diſaſters of theſe times one In of Court ſhall be erected in ſuch place of this kingdom as to the ſupreme Councel ſhal be thought fit for the training of the Gentry of this kingdom to the knowledge of theſe laws.

19. *Item*, It is further ordered and eſtabliſhed, that no Lord, Gentleman, or other perſon, ſhal raiſe or keep any company of ſouldiers, but ſuch as ſhal be authorized by the ſupreme Councel, Provinciall Councel, or County Councel, or Magiſtrate, with their own corporate Towns, and that the Statute againſt Seſſe & Coyn or Livery be duly put in execution; and that no company or ſouldiers whatſoever ſhall be paid or relieved by the Country, excepting ſuch as are, or ſhall be enrolled in the Marſhals liſt, and none ſhall be billited but by the Conſtable.

20. *Item*, It is further ordered & eſtabliſhed for the advancement of learning, that in every Province of this kingdom, Free ſchools ſhal be erected & maintained, ſo many & in ſuch places and in ſuch manner & form as to the Metropolitan of the Dioceſſe in their reſpective Provinces ſhall be thought fit.

21. *Item*, It is further ordered and eſtabliſhed, that the Kings Guſtomes, Rents, Revenues, Arreares, and Dues, and the Rents, Eſtates, and Profits of the Lands, Hereditaments, Goods, and Chattells of the enemies which are, or ſhall be declared by the Provinciall or Supreme Councell, or by the Generall Councell, bee received and collected, and be diſpoſed for his Majeſties uſe and ſervice.

Item, It is further ordered and eſtabliſhed, that Church Lands and Tithes impropriate in the Catholike owners before theſe troubles, and joyning in this Cauſe, may be left to them according to their ſeverall Eſtates, untill the ſame be diſpoſed of by Parliament, they in the interim anſwering the Rents as accuſtomed.

23. *Item*, It is further ordered and eſtabliſhed, that in every County there be Collectors and Receivers to be approved by the County Councell for the ſame, and that they be accomptable to the County Councell for the ſame; which County Councell ſhall be accomptable to the Provinciall Councell therein halfe-yearly, and the Provinciall Councell to the Supreme Councell yearly, to the end the ſame may not be concealed or miſapplied.

24. *Item*, It is ordered and agreed, where any Archbiſhop, Biſhop, or other dignitory, or any other perſon or perſons whatſoever, hath or enjoyeth any Lands, Tenements, or Hereditaments, Tithes, or Church livings in one County or Province, or doth or ſhall keep his or their reſidence in another County or Province, and hath his or their creation or nomination in any other County or Province, where the ſaid Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, Tithes, or Church livings to the generall uſe ſhall be employed within the ſaid County and Province where the ſaid Lands, Tenements, Hereditaments, Tithes, or Church livings doe lie, as by the ſeverall

verall County Councells respectively shall be thought fit for the Publique Cause.

25. *Item*, It is ordered and established by the Generall Assembly, that any woman being a Roman Catholike, and wife of any Protestant, or Catholike that hath forsaken his houses, estate, and wife, and adhere unto the enemy; that every such wife may enter into her Jointure (if any be conveighed unto her) or may recover her thirds of her said husbands estate, as if her said husband were actually dead; and that every such wife shall be in such condition and capacity to sue and be impleaded, as if her husband had beene exiled or banished the Realme by judgement of Law, except the Provinciall or Supreme Councell in particular cases order the contrary.

26. *Item*, It is ordered and established, that the possession of Protestant Archbishops, Bishops, Deanes, Dignitories, and Parsons in right of their respective Churches, or their Tenements in the begining of these troubles, shall be deemed taken, and construed as the then possessions of the Catholike Archbishops, Bishops, Deanes, Dignitories, Pastors, and their Tenements respectively to all intents and purposes, and that those possessions are intended within the precedent Order for settlement of possessions.

27. *Item*, It is ordered and established, that no man being prisoner by authority of any the Councels aforesaid, shall be enlarged without the Order of the said Councels respectively, and that no protection be given to servants, or other men of the enemies party without the like Order, or the Order of the chiefe Commander of the Army in the severall Provinces or Counties.

28. *Item*, Whereas abuses have beene committed in some parts of this Kingdome, in taking of Armes, Ammunition,

and other Merchandizes from Merchants arived in Creeks, or Harbors farre from their intended Port, by reason of tempest, or the dangers of enemies, to the great discouragement of the Merchants: It is therefore ordered and established, that where any Ship or Ships, or other Vessels, shall come, or arrive in any Harbor, Bay, or Creek within this Kingdome loaden with Armes, Ammunition, or other Merchandizes; that in such cases all those who are, or shall be in Command in the adjacent Counties respectively, shall protect and defend the said Merchants, their goods, and servants, and shall at the charge of the said Merchants, procure carriage for the said goods, and safely conveigh the same to the said Merchants intended Port, and not to suffer the same, or any of the same under colour of paying for the same or otherwise, to be disposed of, or taken, before the same come to the intended Port, and be entred into the List of the Commissioners, or by the expresse direction in writing of the said Commissioners; and any that shall rob, steale, or violently take away any of the said Goods, contrary to this Order, shall be deemed and punished as enemies to the publique good of this Kingdome, and suffer death therefore.

29. *Item*, That certaine Commissioners shall be appointed in every Port Towne of the Free men and Residents therein, by the Provinciall or Supreme Councell, for the viewing of all the Armes, and Ammunition that shall be hereafter imported into this Realme from beyond the Seas, and to certifie the same to the Supreme Councell with all speed, and to prevent abuses in the sale, or issuing, or disposing of them.

30. *Item*, It is ordered and established, that where Souldiers doe runne from their Garrisons or Commanders, unto other Counties and Provinces, that the Commanders or chiefe Governours of the said County or Province, upon com-

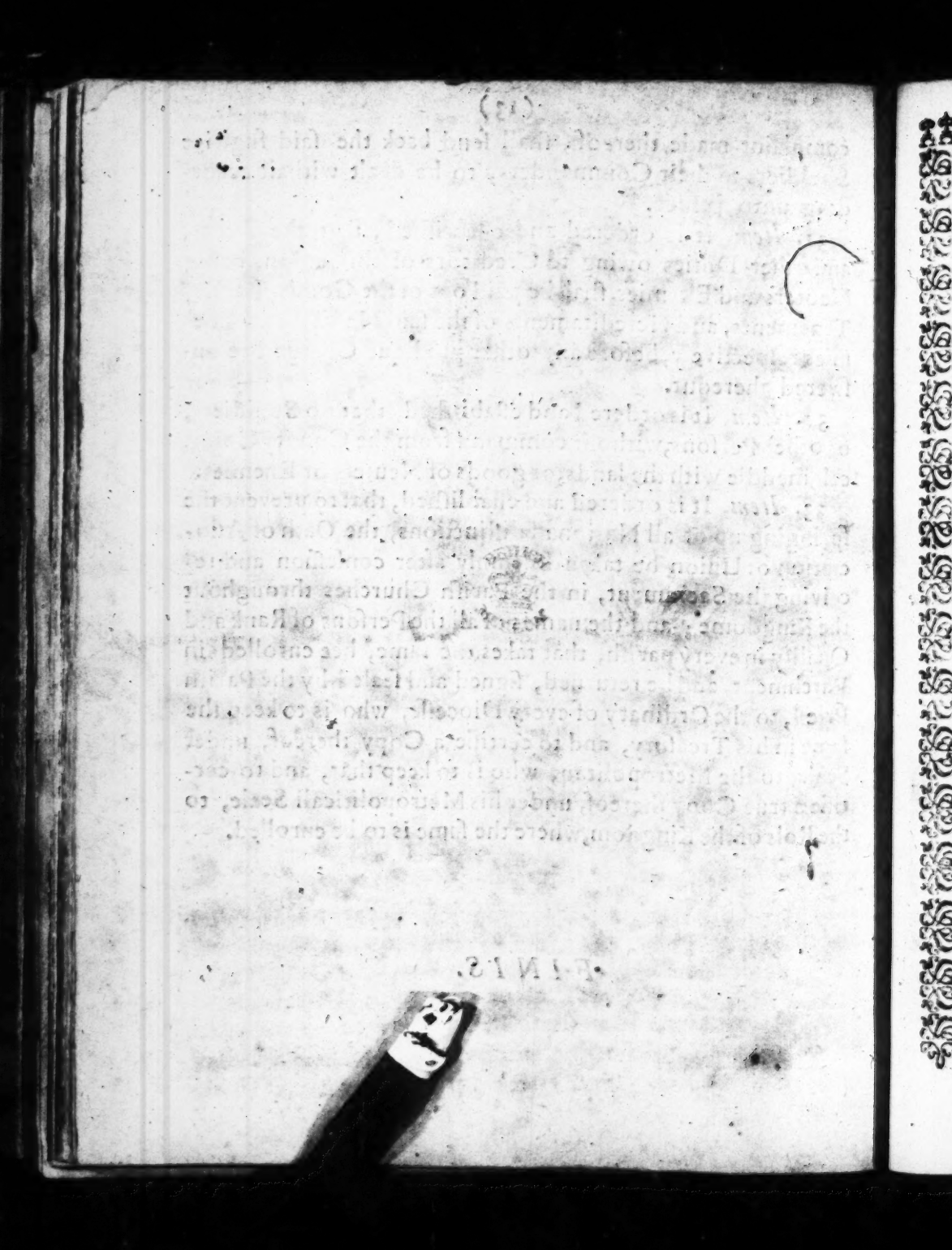
complaint made thereof, ſhall ſend back the ſaid fugitive Souldiers to their Commanders, to be dealt withall according unto Juſtice.

31. *Item*, It is ordered and eſtabliſhed, that the Debts, and other Duties owing to Creditors of this union, being Neuters and Enemies, ſhall be paid out of the Goods, Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments of the ſaid Neuters and Enemies reſpectively, before any other publique Charge bee anſwered thereout.

32. *Item*, It is ordered and eſtabliſhed, that no Souldiers, or other Perſons, without command from the County Councell, meddle with the lands, or goods of Neuters or Enemies.

33. *Item*, It is ordered and eſtabliſhed, that to prevent the ſpringing up of all Nationall diſtinctions, the Oath of Aſſociation or Union be taken ſolemnly after confeſſion and receiving the Sacrament, in the Pariſh Churches throughout the Kingdome; and the names of all the Perſons of Rank and Quality in every pariſh, that takes the ſame, bee enrolled in Parchment, and be returned, ſigned and ſealed by the Pariſh Prieſt, to the Ordinary of every Dioceſſe, who is to keep the ſame in his Treaſury, and to certifie a Copy thereof, under Seale, to the Metropolitan, who is to keep that, and to certifie a true Copy thereof, under his Metropoliticall Seale, to the Rols of the Kingdom, where the ſame is to be enrolled.

FINIS.



20

A LETTER TO A NOBLE LORD AT LONDON FROM A Friend at *Oxford*:

Vpon occasion of the late

COVENANT

taken by both HOUSES.



July. 18 Exon
Printed, 1643.



A LETTER TO A NOBLE LORD at *London* from a friend at *Oxford*, upon occasion of the late Covenant taken by both Houses.

My Lord,

I Have received your Lordships Letter of the tenth of this instant, with much more trouble and sadnesse of mind then any thing you have sent me this whole ill yeare: All your Declarations, Votes, Ordinances, and Orders with your Generals powerfull Commission to kill and slay all good people, made not halfe that impression in mee (though I have not beene ender in letting you know what I thinke of the best of those) as your *Sacred Vow and Covenant* (as you call them) which with Mr. *Pym's* Speech at the Common-hall of the discovery of the great Plot, (I received inclosed in you Letter) hath done. Are all your humble and earnest desires and solicitations for Peace, all your Pangs and Throwes for a Reformation in Religion, delivered at last of a *Sacred Vow and Covenant* against both? Have you at last thought fit to tell the World that there is no possibility or hope of Peace, but by blood and desolation? Have Mr. *Burroughes*, and Mr. *Case* so perverted all Texts of Scripture, and Sergeant *Wilde*, and Mr. *Glyn* so confounded all Rules of Law, that your Consciences are growne so dead to the one, and your Understandings so dull to the other, that in plain English, you promise God Almighty to assist any body to kill the King, and set up new Covenants of your owne,

poinſt blanke againſt your Oathes of Allegiance and Supremacie, and publiſh all this to the people as the Articles of your new Creed? And yet that your Lordſhip ſhould tell me that your affection and duty to the King continues ſtill the ſame you have pretended it, that you have ſtill not only the ſame deſire, but the ſame hope of peace; and that you are confident that the Anabaptiſts and Browniſts (whom me thinkes you have ſworne to defend) will ſhortly ſhip themſelves for another Climate, is ſo ſtrange to me that Amazement it ſelfe is not more confounding. You tell me of a trick your Lordſhips have found out, to ſave your harmelſſe from any obligation by this Oath, a *Salvo* to all your other Oathes Lawfully taken, and thoſe being in a Diameter contrary to this, you have upon the matter engaged your ſelves to nothing by this new Covenant, and ſo having cunningly evaded the deſign of the Contrivers: Oh (my Lord) can you pleaſe your ſelves with theſe ſhifts? Is this the Wiſdome, Vigilance, Integrity, and Courage of the Higheſt Court of Judicature (for ſo the Houſe of Peers in Parliament is) to lead the people by their Example to ſo ſolemne an Act as a Covenant with God Almighty, which at the inſtance you tooke it you intended ſhould ſignifie nothing? Will the poor people of England, whereof it may bee too many have looked upon your example with Reverence, and thought many things fit or lawfull onely becauſe you did them, when they ſhall finde that you have *vowed in the preſence of Almighty God, the ſearcher of all hearts, as you ſhall anſwer at the great Day, when the ſecrets of all hearts ſhall bee diſcloſed, that you will according to your power aſſiſt the Forces raiſed and continued by both Houſes of Parliament, againſt the Forces raiſed by the KING*; will they (I ſay) thinke that your Lordſhip intended nothing by this Vow, but what you were obliged to by your Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacie, that is, *to defend the KING, to the utmoſt of your power, againſt all Conſpiracies and Attempts whatſoever, which ſhall bee made againſt His Perſon, His Crowne, and Dignity, and to doe your beſt endeavour, to diſcloſe, and make knowne to Him all Treaſons and Conſpiracies which ſhall be againſt Him, to your power to aſſiſt all Juriſdictions, Priviledges, Preheminences and Authority belonging to Him, or united to the Imperiall Crowne of this Realme*, and indeed to doe all things which by this your new ſacred Vow you have forſworn

ſworn to doe? Will this *Salvo* reconcile all thoſe contradictions? and is this ſubtilty the firſt fruits of your *Humility and Reverence of the Divine Majeſty, your hearty ſorrow for your owne ſinnes, and the ſinnes of the Nation, and your true intention to endeavour the amendment of your owne wayes?* For Gods ſake (my Lord) talke not of preſerving the true Reformed Proteſtant Religion, and oppoſing Papiſts and Popery, when your Actions deſtroy the Elements of Chriſtianity, and admit a latitude to your Conſcience to introduce Atheiſme, and Rules which the Turkes in pure naturall honeſty abhorre and deteſt. Get your ſelf to an opinion and avow it boldly, ſee what you hazard, and ply your game out above board, be a deſperate Gameſter, if you cannot be a skilfull one, and ſo be capable of advantage by good lucke; but to be couzened and cheated to ſerve other mens turnes, and to helpe to couzen your ſelfe by little ſhifts and evaſions, makes you be hated by them you ſerve, deſpiſed by us, and will make you be laughed at when you are dead.

But (my Lord) admit you were indeed too hard for them by this *Salvo*, and by the interpoſition of three or foure other words (*in order to the ſecurity of preſervation of the true Reformed Proteſtant Religion, &c. according to your Power and Vocation, &c.*) had notably reſerved a liberty to your ſelves of complying with your former Oathes; That Oathes were to be intercepted according to the Intention of the perſon that takes them, (which being an inſtrument between God and Us, and ſo every Covenant being to bee taken ſtrongeſt againſt our ſelves, cannot be admitted) yet if another man who hath taken this Vow believes himſelfe obliged by it, to the utmoſt Act even againſt the Life of the King, hath not he reaſon to believe that you have bound you ſelfe to aſſiſt that Perſon in what he ſhall doe in purſuance of that Oath? I would I were able to make an anſwer for you; but admit further, that in all the promiſory part which containes what you will doe, or what you will not doe, that you were ſafe, and had engaged your ſelfe to doe no more or no leſſe then your Duty: pray conſider the poſitive part, what *Salvo* have you for that? you doe *beleeve that there hath been and now is a Popiſh and traiterous Plot for the ſubverſion of the true Reformed Proteſtant Religion, and the Liberty of the Subject, and that in purſuance thereof a Popiſh Army hath beene raiſed, and is now on foote in di-*

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vers parts of this Kingdome: which Army you imply to bee the Army rayſed for the King, and therefore you promiſe to aſſiſt againſt it. Now it ſeemes your Lordſhip doth not believe the Preamble to be conſiderable, or any part of the Oath, for I am ſure you cannot believe any Popiſh or Trayterous Plot to bee on this ſide; where the Treaſon is, the Law will judge, and where the Papiſts are will beſt be found in the Muſter-Rolls of both Armies; you have had whole Troopes of that Profeſſion, and no fault found with their Religion, till they have given over being Rebells: whileſt they are with you, they defend the true Reformed Proteſtant Religion, but when they revolt to their Allegiance they are Papiſts, and ought to be disbanded: indeed you take the courſe to compell the King to doe His duty by driving them to Him for Protection, which he cannot deny to His Subjects, but you keepe them from performing their duty in aſſiſting their Prince, by ſtripping and plundering, and leaving them naked to the World. In good faith (I aſk Pardon of Diſcretion and Truth for being ſtartled) your confident diſcourſes of Popiſh Armies and Supplies from Papiſts made me once imagin the King might in truth receive ſome notable ſupplies from the perſons of that profeſſion, and it was not hard for mee to believe that that party which felt ſo much rigour and cruelty from you, and were ſure to ſuffer an utter extirpation if you prevailed, ſhould willingly ſacrifice all they had to that Sovereigne Power which might mercifully allay that fury, and preſerve them ſtill in the number of his Subjects; but I find there is a narrowneſſe, a vulgar ſpiritedneſſe, and a ſcandalous parſimony in all Religions, even theſe men will have the comfort of being ſtarved with money in their purſes, for I am aſſured by thoſe who are converſant with thoſe Accounts, that all the money His Majeſty hath received from all the Papiſts of *England*, ſince He hath beene put to rayſe and continue theſe Forces, is not halfe ſo much as is in truth due to Him by the Law, upon thoſe moderate Compoſitions made with them: And for any aſſiſtance Hee hath by their perſonall ſervice you have long ago heard (and I have reaſon enough to believe) that the Papiſts in all His Armies will not make one Regiment: how many more you have, and how many more you would be glad to have, your Lordſhip can better judge then I.

Well,

Well, there hath beene *a treacherous and horrid Deſigne lately diſcovered, to ſurprize the Cities of London and Weſtminſter*, and God knowes what, and *you doe abhorre and deteſt that Wicked and treacherous Deſigne*. Tis well done, whether you know it or not: but what may this treacherous Deſigne be, that Mr. *Pym* ſayes, *would have deſtroyed the City and the Kingdome, and in their Ruines have buried Religion and Liberty*? Another Gunpowder Treaſon, like that of the Proteſtation againſt the firſt Remonſtrance? The King hath ſent a Commiſſion (for now it is printed, all the World knowes what it is) to certaine perſons to uſe their utmoſt power to ſuppreſſe thoſe who are in Rebellion againſt Him, and aſſiſt thoſe who are oppreſſed by them. Is there one Popiſh or popiſhly affected perſon in that Commiſſion, or to be imployed in the whole Deſigne? Is there one clauſe in it on the behalfe of Papiſts, or againſt the Liberty of the Subiect? Indeed it may ſeeme ſtrange that the King ſhould ſo much conſider that Apoſtate City, (where the rage of ſome, and the tameneſſe of others, have made up one generall Guilt) as to offer them any countenance to relieve themſelves; but that it ſhould be a horrid and treacherous Deſigne, when you have in all the Counties of *England*, Commanders of your *Militia* and Commiſſioners even at this preſent to aſſeſſe, rate, and collect Money for the maintenance of your Rebellious Army, for the King to be willing to have an Army in *London* or *Middleſex*, whereby all other Armies, and that too might be ſpeedily disbanded, will need an Orator no leſſe powerfull then Mr. *Pym*, or his Excellency himſelfe, (who in in theſe nice Arguments is the better Orator) to make evident to the World. Believe it (my Lord) whileſt there is one honeſt man left in that City, there will be alwayes a Plot to reduce it to its Loyalty, and to deſtroy this wicked Rebellion: neither will that unparaleld Act of inhumanity executed upon the two famous Citizens of *Briſtol* (who will live gloriouſly in the Annals of this Nation, as the ſtout Champions and Martyrs of Allegiance, when the name of their Murtherer (*Fiennes*) ſhall not be mentioned but with infamy) ſo far fright good men from their Duty, that your wilde fury will rage long uncontrould.

Another of your Propoſitions is, that *you doe believe in your conſcience, that the Forces raiſed by the two Houſes of Parliament, are raiſed and*

and continued for their just defence, and for the defence of the true Protestant Reformed Religion and Liberty of the Subject, against the forces raised by the King : Does your Lordship in truth beleeve this? Take it in peeces. The two Houses of Parliament, being convened by the Kings sole Writ, to advise with Him about the great Affayres of the Kingdome, formed their Counsels with such successe, that in above fifteene Moneths, (time enough to have reformed and repayred all former mistakes and irregularities in Church and State) they never found the least nonconcurrence with them from His Majesty in any particular proposed for the ease or benefit of the Common wealth; what was during that time done by His singular Justice and excesse of Bounty is so well and particularly known to all the World, that if your Treason and Rebellion were away, there would be ingratitude enough left to make you odious to the present, and infamous to succeeding Ages. When did the first Act of your defence begin? Not till you came to *Edgehill*; then I must confesse, you were put to it: for it cannot bee denied, the King went eight Miles out of His way to finde you; from thence you tooke your stile of defensive Arms; except you will needs date them from the tenth of *January*, when you had been overun by the Law, if that defensive Army of the City had not been raised to rescue and preserve the good Lord of *Kimbolton*, and his five pretious Members from a legall proceeding.

In this sense you have, I confesse, beene much upon the defensive part, otherwise you never pretended ground or Argument for your taking Armes, but Feares and Jealousies, no danger of an assault from an active Enemy; except some few Papists under ground, whom your vigilancy hath kept still there. When you first voted your great Generall, and raysed your wanton Army, it was to fetch up the King to you from *Yorke*, not to defend your selves against him: and you cannot but know you were so farre from being in danger to be assaulted, that setting aside your acts of hostility in your Votes and Ordinances, by which you had surprised Forts, Townes, and the whole Navy, when you had a formed Army of Horse and Foot (I beleeve much greater then you have now) the King had not so many Muskets, as you had Cannon, nor so many Swords as you had Companies; and on my Conscience (I will so

farre

farre excuſe you from intending it ſhould come to this) if you had thought He could have got any, your Lordſhip and many more of your good friends, who for quietneſſe ſake have done much miſchiefe, would have prevented theſe troubles. But why are you leſſe aſhamed to be couzened ſtill then to confeſſe you have been ſo; you expreſſed well in your owne honeſt Speech, how much you have beene deceived, truſt them no more that deceived you, much of that is fallen out you then foreſaw, the reſt will follow, it is a miſery to foreſee, and not to prevent, at leaſt bearing a part in doing the miſchiefe which you foreſee muſt deſtroy the Doers. Remember you were told there was no deſigne againſt Biſhops to alter the Government of the Church, you ſee they are now inconſiſtent with the Proteſtant Reformed Religion, and a new way muſt be found out of Goverment; and then as M. *Martin*, and M. *Morly* uſe you now, M. *Caſe* and M. *Calamy* will uſe you then, betweene both, you will be a great Lord. Remember you were promiſed when this Army was firſt raiſed, there ſhould be no fighting, no Reſiſtance, (and in truth when you ſaw Votes could enable you to raiſe Armies, who had no power, it is no wonder you beleeved they could keep the King from raiſing any who had Power) that the King ſhould be brought gently up to you, and you ſhould have what Places you pleaſed: There hath been fighting and reſiſtance, the King is not yet brought up to you, & I do not find the places are like to be diſpoſed as you deſire. You were aſſured all poſſible regard was to the ſafety of the King, & you were your ſelf required by your Proteſtation to promiſe to defend His Perſon, you have ſince been aſſured in what danger His Perſon hath been, by the aſſault of your Army, and you are now compelled to ſweare you will aſſiſt that Army againſt him; When will you thinke your ſelfe couzened enough to abhorre theſe men? doe you not yet apprehend that theſe men every day whilſt they perſwade you they intend a Peace, doe ſomewhat to make Peace impoſſible? Is the impriſoning the Kings Meſſengers who come to move you to Peace; the accuſing the Queene of high Treaſon for loving Her Husband, and for doing that for which the preſent Age muſt reverence and poſterity will envy Her; the murthering of the two good men of Briſtoll in cold blood (a murther that will call for Vengeance from God, and Ju-

ſtice from the King till a full expiation) and this new ſacred Vow, excellent ingredients towards a Peace? Are you awake, and doe not ſee thoſe things throwne in only to make Peace impoſſible, but content your ſelfe with a Vote that your Armes are defenſive, when all the diſtractions and all the Violence throughout the Kingdome are the effects of thoſe Arms.

The next Article of your Creed is, that theſe godly Forces of yours are for the defenſe of the true Proteſtant Reformed Religion; This indeed hath alwayes beene your care, and your Reputation, but give me leave to tell your Lordſhip I much feare you rather hate that which is not the Proteſtant Religion, then love that which is. I will not grieve your memory by repreſenting to you the happy flouriſhing ſtate of the Proteſtant Religion in this Kingdome, till your Counſells diſturbed and endeavoured to deface it. Let Vs onely conſider what you have acted and what you have deſigned towards this defence, and to uſe your owne phraſe of your Covenant, *in order to the Security and preſervation of this Religion.* There is not a Godly, Learned, Orthodox Divine in *England*, whom you have not traduced, impriſoned, or eminently reproached and diſcountenanced, even thoſe whoſe Learning and Integrity firſt gave credit and reputation to your great Reformers; you have not only diſuſed and ſuppreſſed that Excellent Book of Common-Prayer, (the firſt and glorious inſtance in this Kingdome of the true Reformed Proteſtant Religion) but ſcurrilouſly and prophanely reviled and ſcoffed at it, to the ſcandall of Chriſtianity; you have carried your ſelves with ſuch impious and deboſh behaviour in Churches and Conſecrated places, committing ſuch horrid and Beaſtly outrages, that the Heathen themſelves would tremble at the mention of them, and all this out of *pure zeale to the true Reformed Proteſtant Religion.* This you will ſay is done without your Conſents by the diſorderly Souldiers, whom you cannot reſtraine. By your Lordſhips favour you have very pretty Votes of one or both Houſes which directly encourage thoſe Souldiers to moſt of this. What remedy have you provided for theſe diſorders, if the King concurred with you in all you propoſe to your ſelves? You have preſented Him a Bill to pull downe the whole Fabricke of Church Government, to leave Hereſie, Inceſt, Blaſphemy,

my, and Adultery, as unpuniſhable as any other Acts of good fellowſhip, to take away His Supremacy, and ſo cancell the Oath you have all taken to Him, and to take away Biſhops, and ſo cancell the Oath He hath taken at His Coronation to defend and protect them, and have not yet ſo much as fancyed amongſt our ſelves into what ſhape you will lick that monſtrous *Chaos* you would produce, this you leave to your Synod, of ſuch men, as moſt of them no Schooles or Nurſeries of Learning ever knew, men never knowne or heard of but by their Faction, Treaſon, and Rebellion, ſuch who never had title or ſubſiſtance in the Church of *England*, till your Votes, as Patron and Ordinary, impoſed them upon Pariſhes, and over Cures in the places of thoſe, whoſe Religion was not Rebellion. Oh (my Lord) can you forget the excellent times in which you were borne, and the happy times in which you have ſince lived, the flouriſhing ſtate of Religion here in Doctrine and Diſcipline, in the Lives and Learning of ſo many reverend Divines famous throughout Chriſtendome, can you ſo much forget this, to beleeve theſe courſes, the way to defend the true Reformed Proteſtant Religion? If you were a Proteſtant two yeares ſince, I am ſure they are none whoſe directions you now follow; Is the countenancing and joyning with Anabaptiſts, and Browniſts, (names as odious to you, and ſo mentioned by you even in your laſt Letter, as the Papiſts) to advance the Proteſtant Religion? But 'tis no wonder when you take your Rules of Allegiance and Fidelity from Traitors and Rebells, that you ſhould take your directions of Religion from Hypocrites and Schiſmatiques. I doe not know your face better then your heart in this point, you are no more of my Lord *Sayes* mind in Religion, then Biſhop *Wren* is; when you have recovered the Courage to love Truth againe, this Clauſe if there were nothing elſe in your Covenant, will take your Sleep from you, and leave you no comfort, but in the Charity of thoſe you have indeavoured to deſtroy.

A word now of the Liberty of the Subject, the laſt pretence of your Army, and I have done. In ſo ſad an Argument I ſhould not be merry with you, and ſay, that by this Liberty of the Subject, you meane Liberty in every Subject, to doe what he liſt, which indeed ſeemes to be the proper buſineſſe of your Army, and yet I

would you would leave men this liberty, that you would not compell them to be worſe then they have a minde to be, and you would be contented to abſolve them from the Law, and truſt them with their owne inclinations; though you pull downe the Incloſures, uſe no violence to hunt them from their knowne Pathes; let their owne love of Liberty lead them, without being driven by your fury: Conſider the liberty of the Subject before you found out this device to defend it; How ſtrongly was it guarded and fenced by knowne, cleare, excellent Lawes, not capable of any dammage or inconvenience, to which there was not a proper reparation and remedy prepared: if any little breaches had been made in this Fence (for in compariſon of the gappes you have ſince made in it in one howre, what was done in 16 yeares before was but little) with what diligence, Induſtry and Bounty did His Majeſty comply with you to make them up, and ſo finiſhed the Worke, that if you had not taken all this monſtrous paines to deſtroy it, you Country now had beene the wonder and envy of Chriſtendome, in Peace, and all the Ornaments of Beauty, Plenty, and Luſtre which Peace deſires to be adorned with; What preſſure or violation was offered to this Liberty when you firſt tooke up your defenſive Armes? See now to what degree you have advanced it, as it hath reference to our Goods, Eſtates, your Ordinances of ſequeſtration, your weekly Aſſeſſements, and your order for the twentieth part, abundantly expreſſes your Care; as it hath reference to Our Perſons, the full Gaoles in all places, and the very many Houſes you have turned into Gaoles for the ſafe keeping of Our Liberty, will bee rare Monuments to Poſterity, as it concernes Our Conſcience, you need no other Evidence (though you have ſtore) then this *your ſacred Vow and Covenant*. If this be your courſe to defend Liberty, I would you would for variety ſake practiſe ſome way to deſtroy it, it may be it might prove the more Sovereigne Remedy to the Common-wealth: Tis Mr. *Pyms* third Obſervation *of the evill Conſcience of thoſe who were in the late Plot, they that pretended to take Armes to defend their owne Property, obtained a Commiſſion to violate the Property of others, they would take the Aſſertion of the Lawes of the Land, but aſſumed to them ſuch a power, as was moſt contrary to that Law, to ſeize upon their Perſons without due proceſſe,*

ceſſe, to impoſe upon their Eſtates without Conſent, to take away ſome lives by the Law Martiall; This is a Text I hope your Lordſhip will beleeve, and is ſo truly an inſtance of evill Conſcience, that if His Majeſty had uſed theſe words in any of His Meſſages or Declarations, they had beene voted at leaſt an imputation upon both Houſes, and a Cenſure of their Proceedings. But Mr. *Pym* may Libell againſt you (and in earneſt you will finde moſt of his ſpeechs to be ſuch) without breach of Priviledge, hee hath found out too new Conſervators of our Liberty which wee never heard of till now, inſtead of King, Lords and Commons, *The Parliament*, (that is the cloſe Committeee) *the City, and the Army are the three vitall parts of the Kingdome, in which* (he ſayes) *not only the well being, but the very life and being of it doth conſiſt*, and yet they perſwade your Lordſhip they are willing to disband this Army. You will ſay theſe Invaſions upon Liberty are the effect of theſe diſtempers, which 'tis your buſineſſe to ſuppreſſe., which being done the Subject ſhall have no more cauſe to complaine. But, my Lord, We that live at a diſtance have well obſerved that the principles and foundations for all this miſchiefe were laid, long before your Miſtreſſe Neceſſity was owned by you, long before your Armes were raiſed; all your rapines, all your Plundrings and Impriſonings are not more deſtructive to the Liberty of the Subject, then your Votes of the fifteenth of March, your aſſuming power ſo to declare Law, that what you ſaid or did, was therefore Law becauſe it was yours. How many men were impriſoned and undone by you, expreſly againſt the Law and the Petition of Right? How many Acts of Parliament ſuſpended, and actions done by you in a Diameter, contrary to Acts of Parliament, ſo that in truth all your exceſſes ſince which you excuſe by imputing them to your Army, and the raiſing that Army, are but ſuperſtructures upon the foundations you laid in your calmeſt and moſt undiſturbed Government, and there is nothing that you of the moderate Party have ſince refuſed to conſent to, which might not very well have followed from ſome of thoſe propoſitions which even your ſelves have before admitted, defended, and contrived.

I have troubled your Lordſhip longer in this Argument then I meant, and have the vanity to believe, that your often reading this

over, though it be no more then you knew before, may make some impreſſion in you, do not thinke that which is in it ſelfe ſimply ill can be made good by a Vote, or that the word Parliament can give Reputation to Actions abſolutely wicked in themſelves: Mr. *Pym* tells you in this goodly Speech of his, *that a Parliament is but a Carcaſe when the freedome of it is ſuppreſſed, that if it bee deprived of its owne Liberty, it is left without life or power to keepe the Liberty of others*: Alas (my Lord) though you will anſwer no other part of my Letter, tell mee upon your Honour, would you have taken this laſt Covenant, if you had had liberty to have refuſed it, if you had not, where is your freedome of Parliament? Can you yet look upon that Aſſembly with reverence? Thinke of their number, thinke of their quality, think ſadly of their Actions, and you will eaſily find a way (and there is but one that I know) to evade your Covenant: It was unjuſtly, impiouſly, impoſed upon you, raſhly, unlawfully (to ſay no worſe) taken by you, you ought not, you muſt not keep it. But that is not enough, winde your ſelfe out of this Labyrinth with Courage and Magnanimity, and in your evening doe ſomwhat that may redeeme the faults of the day. Conſider that theſe men who by your Aſſiſtance proſper in their bad wayes, are doing their owne buſineſſe, and every day make a Progreſſe to their owne ends. My Lord *Say*, ſince all honeſt men have been undoing, hath bettered his own Eſtate above twenty thouſand pounds, beſides advancing his younger ſonnes to full and ample Revenues: Mr. *Pym* hath ſwet to purpoſe, and hath thrived ſo well in two years, that he is your equall at leaſt. They who abhorre Biſhops revenge themſelves at your charge, and every Action that advances that Deſigne is more pleaſant to them then life. Your great Generall hath the Sovereigne delight of oppoſing the King, and having his Health dranke with lowd Muſicke. *Pennington*, *Ven*, *Fulk*, and *Manwaring* are from broken, beggerly, contemptible Varlets, become your fellow Peers, and no doubt when they have reconciled your Lordſhips and the Commons into one Houſe, will have the negative voice, which you two have ſnatched frō the King, depoſited in their hands. That Vitall part of the Kingdome, the City, will never be truſted in your Cuſtody who have managed all the reſt ſo ill. If any Accident ſhould happen, Providence or Victory to defeat them, theſe men

have beene good and wary Husbands, and have the fortitude to love any Country equall to their owne; Is your Lordship of a constitution fit to mingle wirh these men? Is your Revenue improved, or Exchequer inlarged since these troubles? Is any one designe of yours satisfied by your concurrence, or can you be content to die a Peere of *New-England*, or the Isle of *Providence*? Is not your Reputation and interest with all good men lost, and have you one friend left whose face you knew a yeare before this Parliament? These are Melancholique considerations, but you must passe through them, and then if some Noble, at least honest resolution doe not possesse you, resolve to dye the last of your name, and to leave this Character behind you, That notwithstanding all your discourse and pretence of Religion, you would have turned Turke, if the Major part of both Houses, and the stronger part of the Kingdome had required you to take a Covenant to that purpose.

FINIS.
